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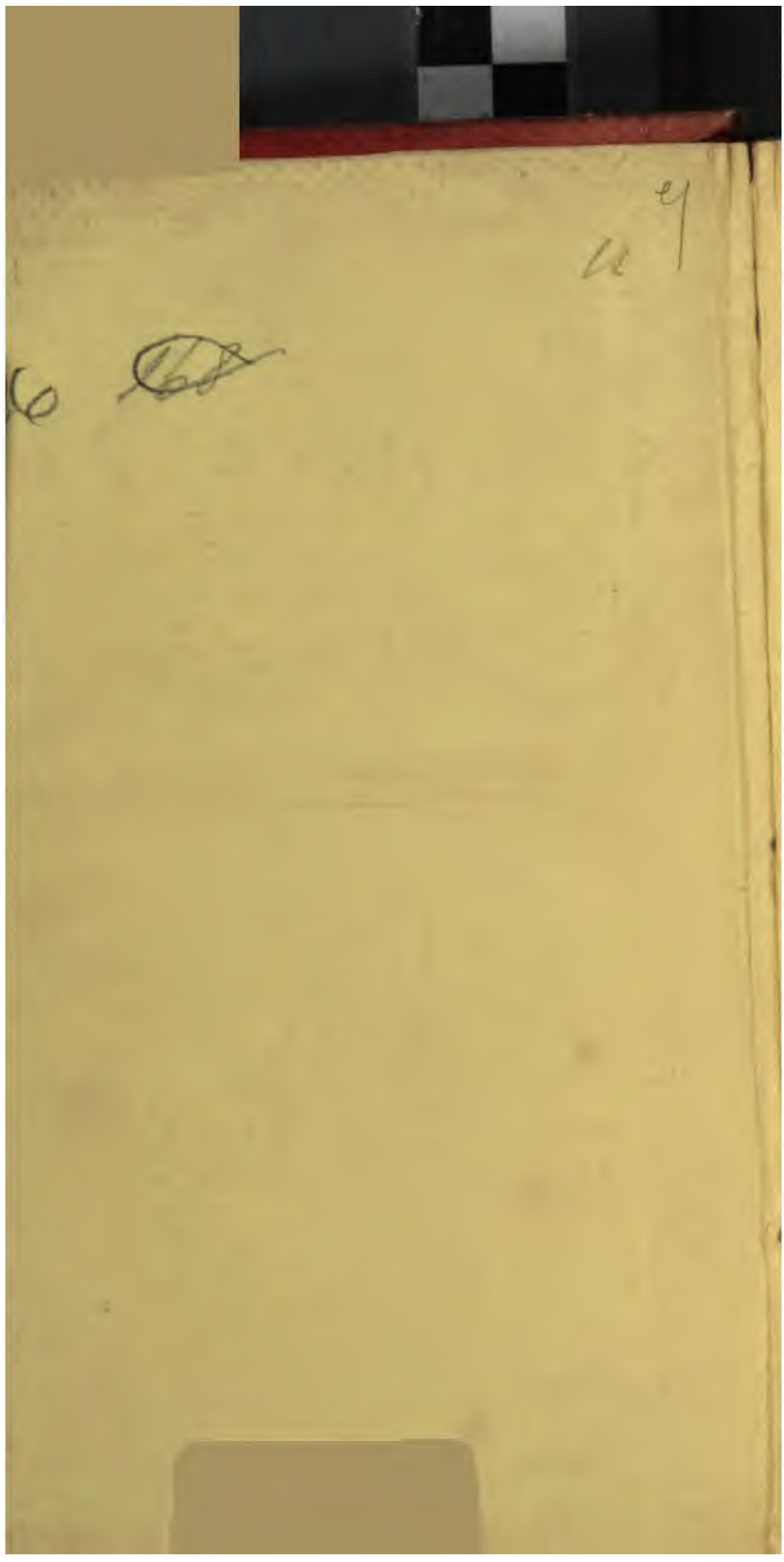

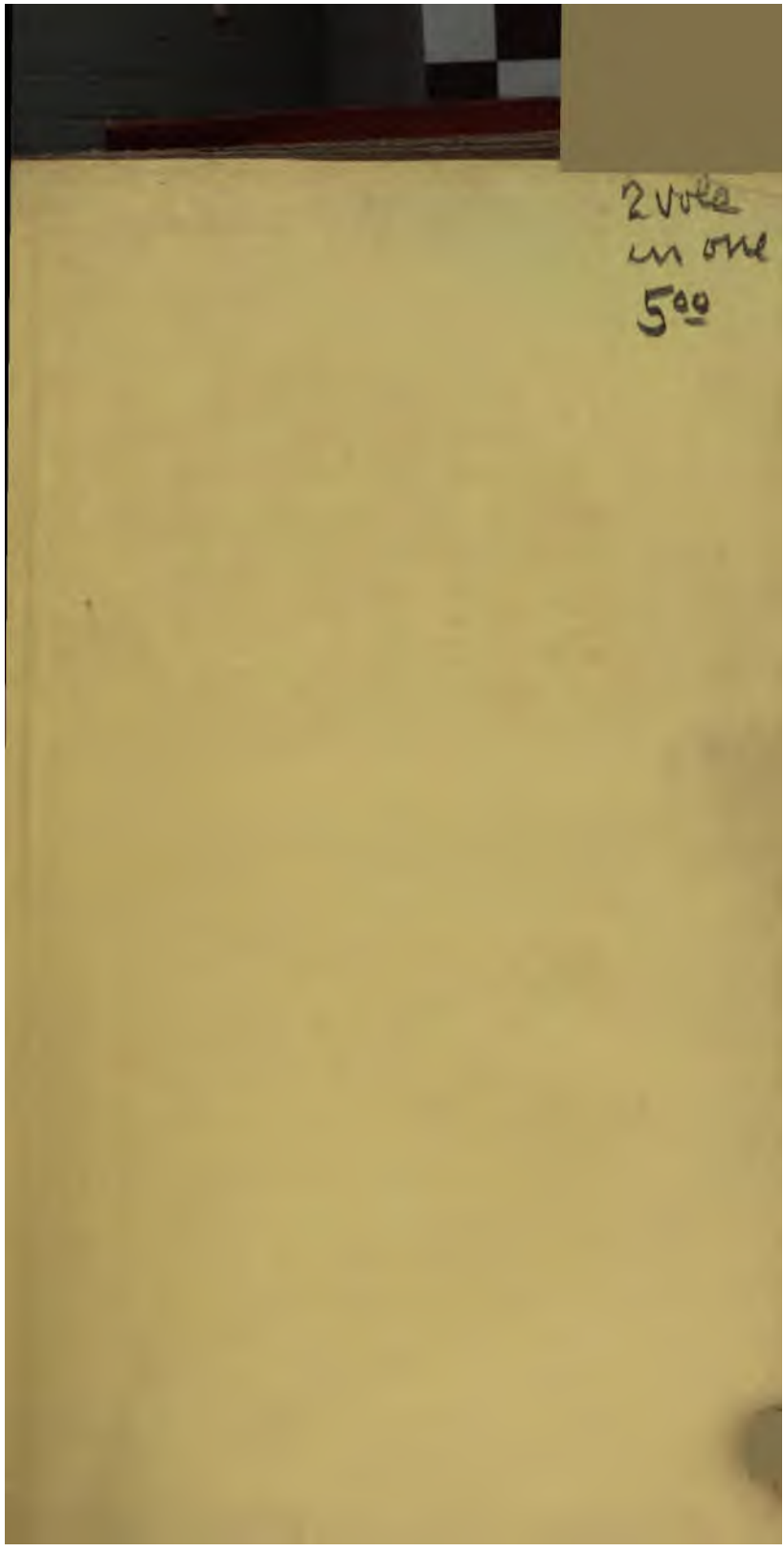
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NARRATIVE

OF A

FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE

AT

NEPAUL.

BY CAPTAIN THOMAS SMITH,
ASSISTANT POLITICAL-RESIDENT AT NEPAUL.
FROM 1841 TO 1845.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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TO

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUCHESS OF CAMBRIDGE,

THIS WORK

IS, BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

Inscribed,

WITH FEELINGS OF DEEP RESPECT,

BY HER ROYAL HIGHNESS'S DEVOTED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

LOOKING to the friendly character of the relations which exist between England and Nepaul, and considering the position which Nepaul already holds in Anglo-Indian history, it has appeared to the Author that, in writing an account of that country, nothing should be omitted which can throw light on its characteristics and history. In addition, therefore, to the narrative of his residence there; his account of the wild sports and the productions of the soil, and the description of the wars of 1814 and 1816, he has deemed it indispensable to append a Memoir of the late General

Sir David Ochterlony, who was not only the conqueror of Nepaul, after all other Generals had failed, but was one of the finest, best, and bravest soldiers the Indian army ever had to boast.

Besides this Memoir, it has been considered expedient to publish an account of the formation and services of the Sirmoor battalion—a corps of Goorkhalees, formed out of the Nepaulese, after the hills had fallen under the British yoke.

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INTRODUCTION.

It was remarked by a celebrated Prime Minister, in speaking of a General of high character and professional attainments, and of unquestionable courage, but who had always been unfortunate in war, that he wanted only one quality to constitute him a great warrior—namely, success. Whatever may be the errors committed in the course of a campaign, if the ultimate issue be favourable, the verdict of society stamps the fortunate commander a "great" General.

"Success" is undoubtedly a superb feather in the cap of a soldier. It hallows blunders,

and consecrates follies;—it is at once an answer, an apology, and a justification. The Poles were *traitors* because they failed at Grodno and Ostrolenka; had they triumphed, Skrynecski would have been elevated to the rank of a hero, and the Emperor of all the Russias degraded to the condition of a monster.

There is, however, another accident indispensable to the elevation of a military man. Whatever may be his natural talents, however extensive his professional attainments—though his courage be indomitable and his acquaintance with the "bookish theoric" something prodigious, he remains for ever in obscurity, if he does not at some time or other enjoy the blessing of opportunity. Nine-tenths of the officers of the British army are, to all appearance, cast in the same mould. They have the same ideas, the same aspirations; are animated by the same motives, governed by the same principles, and are nearly of the same degree of capacity. But the opportunity of achieving distinction alone establishes their

relative powers. It is then that individual genius manifests itself. Opportunity is the crucible which tests the quality of the military metal — it is the talismanic touch which evokes the latent qualities of the man. Abercrombie did not enjoy his opportunity until he was sixty years of age. Herbert Edwardes wrought fame out of opportunity at twenty-seven. Nelson and Cochrane, impatient of obscurity, *made* their opportunities.

I do not mean this brief homily to be accepted as the herald of the results of my own temporary good fortune, but simply as an illustration of what chance will achieve for almost any soldier. Accident made me an extra aide-de-camp, and the circumstances which attended my employment, in that capacity led to my subsequent transfer to Nepaul. Had the same chances been available to any one of my brother officers, similar, if not much higher, consequences might have ensued from their fortune. Who can doubt it that remembers the illustrious names of Lawrence,

Lake, Herbert, Abbott, Brown, Cunningham, Nicholson, Broadfoot, Hammersley, Pottinger, Macgregor, Hore, Backhouse, Christie, &c., each of whom demonstrated of what fine elements the Indian army is composed? But for the accidents of war they might all have lingered in hopeless obscurity. Affghanistan, Scinde, the Sutlej, the Punjaub, and Gwalior, revived the glories of Seringapatam and Laswarrie, Kirkee and Setabuldee, Nepaul, Burmah, and Bhurtpore. Without those five modern campaigns, how many bright spirits might have wasted their power in an inglorious barrack life—how long the Government might have continued in ignorance of the brilliant talents which have enabled it not merely to check and subdue, but to control, reconcile, and civilize the rude warrior nations which encircle the British Indian empire from the Runn of Cutch to the mouths of the Irrawaddy!

The happy accident which removed me from the routine of regimental duty, and gave me the means of collecting the materials of the

present work, does not indeed entitle me to a place in the catalogue of heroes whose names I have quoted, but it may not, in its details, prove altogether destitute of interest, and may, therefore, be narrated as a suitable prologue to the more important description of Nepaul.

MEMORIALS OF NEPAUL.

CHAPTER I.

PERSONAL ADVENTURES.

A VERY few years of service in India suffice to try the constitution of a soldier. If he is not compelled by the duties of his profession to confront the rays of a mid-day sun, ten to one but he finds an excuse for his rashness in the temptations of the chase. The tigers and leopards of the plains, the bears and wild deer of the hills, and the elephants and rhinoceroses of the jungle, supply a hundred reasons for exposure to the greatest climatic dangers, and

send home a youth, before he emerges from subaltern rank, a victim to fever, chronic *hepatitis*, rheumatism, or general derangement. It is hardly worth while to enter into a specific detail either of the diseases which forced me to quit India on sick furlough, or of the quality of the field-pastime which originated my disorder. Let it suffice, that in 1838, being then a Lieutenant in the Bengal army, I was obliged to seek a restoration to health in my native country, and that the month of April 1840, found me once more in India (at Bombay), after a very pleasant overland trip from England, through France, Italy, and Egypt. The passage to India by the overland route is now so well known, and has been described by so many abler pens than mine, that the reader may also be spared my impressions thereanent. After being diligenced through France, steamed to Genoa, Civita Vecchia, and Alexandria, and donkeyed through Egypt to Suez, I was carried down the Red Sea to Aden, and thence to Bombay. The retrospect of the voyage recalls one circumstance

which greatly amused me on the way from Marseilles, in the 'Rhameses,' French steam-packet, to Malta. We had a motley collection of passengers on board. There were expired-leave Indian officers going to join their regiments; inquisitive Yankees bent upon sight-seeing, and the accumulation of a few notions regarding Cheops and Ghiza; and last, not least, there was a glory-seeking body of French officers who were about to enter the service of the Shah of Persia—honest haters of England and everything English, who comported themselves under the idea that they were destined to show a Persian army the way to India. Several of them, after smoking my tobacco from Marseilles to Malta (they appeared to have none of their own), took an affectionate farewell of me, promising that we should shortly again meet on the banks of the Sutlej, when I should be well treated by them, and enjoy all the indulgences a prisoner of war could possibly expect! Not wishing to be outdone in kindness of intention, I assured them they should have

quarter in the anticipated contest, provided they shouted out "Rhameses," and "Malta." A few *sacrés* followed and we parted. I cannot pass over two characters we had on board the 'Rhameses'—one was a young Capuchin monk, dressed in the gaberdine of his order, and bound for Mecca. He was zealous in his calling, and bent upon allowing neither Mahomet nor his coffin any longer to remain between heaven and earth. He was resolved to bring him, coffin and all, once more on *terra firma*, and to settle the question at issue as to who was the greatest impostor on earth. This well "intintioned" missionary I soon after discovered was an Irishman, and a better informed or more amusing fellow I never met with. He astonished me one morning by addressing me in English with a highly finished Irish accent. He was neither teetotaller nor drunkard, but entertained and practised very proper notions on the subject of the beverages of civilized man.

The monk and the French invader of India, General D——s, had numerous and daily

arguments on every subject—war in particular, the invincibility of the French troops being the General's favourite topic. The Frenchman bombarded the monk with Austerlitz, Marengo, and Lodi; Waterloo, he said, was a compound of treachery and mistakes, and in fact we were fairly beaten upon all principles of war, ancient and modern—only we would not admit it. That the English mode of fighting was simply "boxèè-boxèè"—that civilized nations would not recognise it; and all the French wanted was time to get wind and a few lessons in boxèè. The General (who never appeared twice in the same coat or uniform, and that always covered with a profusion of orders, many resembling gridirons, toasting forks, and undertaker's coffin-plates) one day came on deck in a French attempted Newmarket-cut sporting coat, with enormous bronze buttons, embellished with heads of stags, lions, tigers, horses, &c. Sitting down to dinner the monk quietly remarked:—"Ha, General, I have converted you! I am glad to see you in an English sporting coat—

buttons and all." "Sacré," said old Dumas, "I only wear this coat occasionally to remind me of the great men of England as you call them, and here they are! That pig's head is Grey—that leopard is Palmerston," and so on—enumerating the Whig Ministry. "But," said the monk, "you have forgotten one of the greatest men England lays claim to—where have you placed Wellington? "Sacré nom de Dieu," exclaimed Dumas; "no, I have not! here he is!" exultingly rising up and pointing to a button behind. "There is the 'Foutre.'" The monk exclaimed, "Ah, good General, you have only done him justice! You have him where you always had him; you never liked him in front!"

The shouts of laughter that ensued aroused the General to the mistake he had committed, and he left the cabin swearing in choice French, vowing his determination to button us in front with a Persian army and drive us out of India.

On arrival in Bombay I found there was no ship to sail immediately for Calcutta, and by

the then existing regulations (viz., that no officer could draw his Indian allowances until he had reported himself in his own Presidency) myself and friend (an officer in the 6th Bengal Cavalry, since dead) determined at once to march from Bombay to Mhow, (a distance of four hundred miles) in the month of June. After having made every arrangement, we started and roughed it amazingly, *viâ* Baroach and Baroda. This march gave me an introduction to the Bombay officers. Better men never lived; their hospitality was unbounded, and there was the greatest difficulty in getting away from them. Our side of India call them "ducks;" why they are so called seems not to have been quite settled: one version is, their fondness for the Bummelow fish, salted and dried, called duck. Another, and current in the Presidency, is, that during our Pindaree and Maharatta campaigns the Bombay troops kept the field in their tents (not the best in India), and used to visit their guards and make their reports on charpoys (or rude India couches)

floated on pots—a common practice among natives during a very high overflow of the rivers in the rains. Be this as it may, take the Bombay officers as a body, they are a right good set of men, rough and ready, and hospitable in the extreme. As to their fighting qualities, the Deccan, Ghuznee, and Khelat, the Persian Gulf, and Mooltan, have borne ample testimony that the Duck is a very rough customer.

I arrived at Mhow, the only station in the Bombay Presidency in which Bengal troops were then serving. The force consisted only of a troop of horse artillery under then Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrenson, with Captains Edward Christie and Apperly, both since dead: the former killed in the retreat from Chillianwallah, where he had a troop, and the latter a victim to fever. On arriving at Mhow I took up my quarters with poor Christie, and of course called upon the General commanding there, Major-General Brooks, well known as one of the best officers in the Bombay army. I received the greatest attention from the General;

it made the deeper impression by reason of the difference of our respective ranks. The setting in of the rains prevented my proceeding at once to join my regiment in Bengal; I was therefore compelled to remain at Mhow. Our affairs in Scinde were at this time anything but satisfactory. The political and military authorities were at issue. The Murrees, a tribe of hill Scindians, had given us an awful lesson at Nafoosk, in the destruction of the detachment under Major Clibborn; Lieutenant (late Major) Lewis Brown, the bravest of the brave, held Khahun besieged by hordes; in fact, all the Scinde hills and plains were rising, and as recent events under Sir Charles Napier have proved, at the instigation of the treacherous Ameers—Meer Roostam being the greatest fool (seventy-nine years old), was also proved to be a great knave; whilst Ali Moorad, the knave, was allowed to turn Queen's evidence, and obtain what he had for years been seeking—the destruction of the Khyrpoor dynasty and possession of the Ghuddee or throne.

It became necessary, in consequence of the disturbed state of Lower Scinde to despatch a force to the frontier; and as the rank and position of Major-General Brooks pointed him out as a fit person for the command, he received instructions from the government accordingly. As a Bengal officer I had no desire to share in this expedition, but the General having done me the honour to conceive a favourable opinion of my personal activity, he further marked his sense of that quality by appointing me his aide-de-camp. To this accident I am indebted for my share in the events I am about to describe.

The route from Mhow to Scinde, dictated by ordinary convenience and a regard to speed, was rather roundabout, because of apparent topographical difficulties. A dawk (or palanquin post) journey to Bombay, and thence by steam up a portion of the Indus, was the most obvious course; and by this route Major-General Brooks proceeded to join his command in Scinde. But it was impossible for me to take the same route, by reason of the expense and

the deadly character of the jungle which intervened, and which made it a matter of serious difficulty to procure more than one set of bearers at a time. No other way then presented itself but to march across the great Beccaneer Desert to Sukkur, and an order was accordingly issued by the General directing me to join him with all possible speed.

Determined to obey the order, although the route had never been attempted before, I sold off my marching establishment at a frightful loss, and procured five riding camels of questionable power, and started at once, *viâ* Indore, to Neemuch. I here got the doubtful camels changed, and at once faced the great Indian Desert—a distance, going as straight as I could, of six hundred and eighty miles. At Indore I stayed a few days with the then hospitable Resident, Sir C. M. Wade. At Neemuch, a British military station, I remained to get everything ready. Several friends in the 4th Bengal Lancers then stationed at Neemuch, assured me I had a very pleasant *grind* before

me, and pronounced it impossible I could ever reach Sukkur, in Scinde, safely. I had undertaken the trip, however, and was not to be daunted by any sinister reports. A sporting Ketmutgar (or table attendant) volunteered to accompany me, little bargaining for the penalty his spirit of enterprise was to pay. I was pleased with the fellow's pluck, and as he seemed much to approve of a pair of leathers and jack-boots I wore for the occasion, I procured him a pair of second-hand horse artillery breeches and Wellington boots, which delighted him much. I shall never forget the hearty laugh set up by a well-known sporting and gallant son of Nimrod's (an officer in the 4th Lancers) when my Ketmutgar (Peer Bux) appeared booted and breeched, on the top of the largest of the five camels I had, to announce all ready. Off I started with many good wishes.

Those only who have travelled from Damascus to Bagdad, from Mecca to Bussorah, or from Graham's Town to the Great African River, can form an idea of the peculiar irksome-

ness—to use no stronger term—of a desert journey. The boundless expanse of glittering sand—the double heat of solar reflection and refraction—the absence of a single pleasing object to variegate the monotony of the trip—the broad glare assailing the optics—the paucity of water springs, lakes, and other reservoirs, and the brackishness of the water they supply—the want of friendly companionship—the extremely uneasy and fatiguing motion of the camel—all combine to render these trips the least attractive and desirable of any a traveller can adopt. I found my guide had not exaggerated the *désagrémens* of our pilgrimage. Had I been leisurely pursuing my journey with all the customary appurtenances to a march—tents, servants, books, provisions, &c.—I dare say the monotony of the progress would have been essentially mitigated; but my sole object being speed, I was compelled to submit to every imaginable discomfort, or leave my bones to whiten on the arid plain.

The guide proposed we should call at Joud-

pore. We did so, and exchanged three of the camels. Here I picked up a famous riding camel, Tippoo Sahib by name, for which I paid three hundred rupees (thirty pounds). A finer animal never had hump on his back. He carried me the six hundred and eighty miles in twelve days, and was fresh going into Sukkur.

But I am anticipating. From Joudpore—a large town in the province of Ajmere—we pushed on at a terrific pace.

Three of the camels and three men died from fatigue. We were sadly put to our straits for water, and suffered tremendously from the heat. My cheeks and nose were frightfully blistered, and my eyes, a fiery red, almost lost the faculty of sight. After travelling three hundred miles of this wide and scorching desert, my Ketmutgar showed symptoms of fatigue and alarm, having seen one camel and rider give up the ghost very suddenly. His leather inexpressibles having firmly attached themselves to his skin, he was in great agony, and begged I would allow him

to lie down and die. This I of course refused, telling him we had only fifty miles more to accomplish; and thus I got him on, and brought him safely to Roree, but in a burning fever. The quantity of oil expended in getting his breeches off was great After great attention he recovered.

On arriving at Sukkur, and reporting myself to the commanding officer, I found that the Major-General had not arrived, nor did he reach the place for a fortnight afterwards. I shall not readily forget his surprise when I called upon him. He would hardly at first credit the means by which I had anticipated him. "Well," said he, "you are the man for me!" I had hardly recovered from my toilsome journey, when I was appointed Commandant of a wing of that splendid and oft-tried Irregular corps of Cavalry, the First Local, or Skinner's Horse. Their services in all our Indian campaigns have been so well and properly described, that I could add little to their glory by recording the results of my own observations. They soon

had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves at Dadur, where poor young Lieutenant Loveday was brutally murdered. Many were killed and wounded in that memorable encounter with the Beeloochees. And here I recall a circumstance which serves to show the *esprit de corps* of the distinguished regiment. — Skinner's Horse, all Indian officers know, wear yellow cotton jackets, well padded with cotton, and then sewn closely, an arrangement which not only fits them to the figure, but almost makes them sword-proof. There were very few of the men employed at Dadur whose jackets, during their numerous charges, had not come in contact with a Beelooch sabre: the consequence was, the cotton immediately burst out, and gave them, with their now white gashes on yellow ground, a rather odd appearance. One day after parade, I requested the native officers to have the men's jackets repaired. They replied, "Very well, Sir." In about an hour afterwards, however, several Ressildars and Duffedars (native officers) waited on me, and said they

had a favour to ask. I wished to know what it was, when the senior, old "Zubberdust Khan," answered,—"We beg for ourselves and the men that you will allow the jackets to remain as they are, until we return to Hindostan and get new ones. We all wish to keep these jackets to show how sharp Beelooch swords are, and what they got for damaging our jackets the *Gazette* will show." Their request was complied with, and they were pleased.

Our affairs in Scinde, in November 1840, were, as we have said, anything but satisfactory. The gallant Brown had just brought his handful of men from Kahun, after being beleaguered by the Beeloochees for many weeks; the Murrees were up in arms; the Bhooghees and Jhakeeranees ditto; Nusseer Khan had evacuated Khelat, and taken up a strong position near our post at Kotree, and threatened it with four thousand picked men; Colonel Marshall, who commanded at Kotree, had only thirteen hundred bayonets, sixty Irregular Cavalry, and two guns—six-pounders—wherewith to oppose this

force. It was soon found that a large Beeloochee army, seven thousand strong, had assembled at and near Khunda, to cut off all intercourse between Colonel Marshall and General Brooks. Several attempts had been made to communicate with Marshall's force, but had failed. His imminent danger soon became known to the political agent, Mr. Ross Bell, and General Brooks commanding the field army,—and fortunate, indeed, was it that so able, gallant, and sagacious an officer as Brooks commanded at such a crisis. He well knew that the destruction of Marshall's force would be the signal for a rising among all the hill tribes; and as surely would the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpoor have thrown off the mask, and risen *en masse*. A diversion was consequently necessary. We had not troops enough in Scinde for any counter operations, so the General at once, therefore, determined upon Colonel Marshall's acting on the offensive, and attacking the Khan of Khelat in his position. A difficulty arose as to the

means of communicating his orders. The several attempts to convey instructions had all been frustrated; the parties despatched either returning baffled in their enterprise, or getting cut up by the enemy. The General at last sent for me, and told me he had a most arduous and dangerous trust to commit to me; that much, indeed everything, depended on its successful execution; that if Marshall's force were destroyed, a general insurrection would take place, and the consequences be most disastrous. I asked him what I could do, saying I was most willing to undertake any enterprise. He said—"I have fixed upon you as the most likely man to carry my despatches, from the endurance you displayed in making your way from Neemuch to Sukkur, through the Beccaneer Desert. I want you to carry out my orders to Colonel Marshall, at Kotree, to attack the Khan of Khelat in his present position, before he is reinforced by the large bodies of Beeloochees now moving towards him."

I told him I was quite prepared to make the

attempt, and if I fell, he would do me justice in reporting what I had accomplished, as I had friends in England to whom it would be some consolation to know I had done my duty. He promised me faithfully he would, and was much affected when I left, saying—"We are all soldiers, and, when required, must do even more than our duty."

After receiving my despatches, I started in the afternoon, and once more mounted my favourite camel, Tippoo Sahib, which was so fresh that I had no control over him for twelve miles. He then came to hand; and this camel carried me one hundred and ten miles, without halt, in thirty hours. I then pulled up at a small outpost, held by forty men of the Resident's escort (cavalry), under Lieutenant Richardson. He informed me the Beeloochees were out in great numbers, and an attempt to get to Colonel Marshall's post was quite hopeless; but he gallantly offered to aid me in the attempt with his handful of men, and would have done so had I allowed him. But

I pointed out to him that if it were to be achieved at all, it must be by a very small party. I selected three of his men, who readily volunteered to accompany me, and after partaking of a bottle of beer and part of a cold fowl, we started about four P.M., on a tremendous hot afternoon.

After proceeding some eight miles, we came in sight of the body of Beeloochees through whom we had to force our way. There were some dry and very deep water-courses before us, and, as it was useless at daylight to attempt to make our way, we went down into one of these, muffling our horses. We remained here within a mile of the Beelooch encampment for five long hours, and at about eleven, after regaling and chatting a long time, they all lay down to sleep. I then crept up the bank, and finding all quiet, I beckoned my three followers up. We were all disguised; I wore an enormous Beeloochee turban over my helmet, and a posteen or Affghan cloak, made of sheepskin, over my uniform. Ordering the strictest silence, not a

word to be spoken, but the men to move by me, I led the way. We went on very quietly until we got to about the middle of the cluster of Beeloochees, when we were challenged. No reply was given. A second and third challenge, and then a general movement—tom-tom beating —men shouting—horses neighing, many of them mounting (nearly half were cavalry): the infantry began to fire, but at first well over us. It was now time to make the running, and off we went. My unfortunate Ketmutgar, the sporting youth aforesaid, turned back, however, in a panic, and was cut up. On we dashed. Lead was flying thickly, and two of the men were wounded, one in the shoulder, and one in the hip. I had many broad hints in the shape of whistling bullets. At last we got clear of the camp, and pulled up for a few minutes to give our horses wind. We soon, however, heard a heavy tramp behind us, and ascertained a large body of cavalry were moving after us at speed. There was no time to hesitate. On we went again, the tramp nearing us rapidly;

indeed, dark as it was, their dust was now visible. All on a sudden we were brought up by the dry bed of a river. Down we went, man over horse, and horse over man; we could stick at nothing, and a precious roll I got. We immediately righted, however, and a thought struck me that now our only chance lay in following the bed of this dry river. We did so for some four hundred yards, then pulled up and dismounted, and muffling our well-blown nags, we heard the mass of Beelooch cavalry pass through just where we had turned off. There must have been a very large body of them. We remained perfectly quiet, and in about an hour we heard them return, this time at a walk, shouting and talking very loudly. Back they went, to our delight, without examining the bed of the river. Half-an-hour afterwards, we pulled our horses out of the deep bed, and went off at speed to Colonel Marshall's camp, where I arrived at four o'clock the morning following the day of my departure.

The Colonel was called, and greatly surprised

was he at seeing a British officer there from head-quarters with despatches.

The troops got under arms immediately. I had some refreshment, got a fresh horse, received command of the cavalry, one hundred and twenty Irregulars. Forward! was the word, and after a march of seven miles we came up with Nusseer Khan, the Khan of Khelat. He was admirably posted. We waited here for upwards of an hour, until a flanking party of four hundred men, under the gallant Major Teasdale, of the 25th Bombay N.I., shewed their heads. This brave man was afterwards killed at Meanee, leading as gallant a body of men as John Company ever possessed—the 25th Regiment of Bombay N.I.

Nusseer Khan, confident in the superior number of his troops, did not refuse battle when it was offered him. The action commenced at 9 A.M., and, after some stiff fighting, at 4 P.M. we had thrashed the Beeloochees thoroughly. We only took one hundred and thirty prisoners, but of these eighteen were

chiefs, the principal being Meer Bohur Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, and his son, Morad Khan, who were initiated into camel equitation by being sent at once prisoners, under my charge, to Sukkur head-quarters.

The only rest I had was during the time the despatches were being written by Colonel Marshall. When ready, off I started, with an injured hip, on the right side; returning to, and arriving at head-quarters (one hundred and fifty miles) at the same pace as that at which I went out, seriously injuring the antipodes of Meer Bohur Khan and his son, Morad Khan, who, during their camel trip, frequently begged of me to put them to death like soldiers, rather than shake their insides out on camels.

On reaching the Residency at two in the morning, and General Brooks being informed I had arrived, he rose and greeted me. He could scarcely believe I had been there. His impression was that I had been compelled to abandon the undertaking, and return. I was so exhausted that I requested him to read the despatches which were in my sabretache, and

which I could not even take out. He did so. His surprise and joy were excessive. I met with the kindest reception from him and Mr. Ross Bell, the Resident, and experienced every care and attention. I was confined to my bed for a fortnight for my sins, weak, bruised, wearied, and fevered. But I had a capital febrifuge and consolation in the orders issued on the occasion by the Governor-General of India.

Nusseer Khan, the Khan of Khelat, escaped before Major Teasdale's flanking-party came up, but all his baggage, tents, camels, ammunition, &c., fell into our hands, even to the very bed he slept on. The hilly nature of the country rendered pursuit by our nearly worn out troops worse than useless. The result of the action, however, left Nusseer Khan helpless, and he and his young mother, Bibi Gunga, soon surrendered themselves to the British authorities, after some political flirting on both sides. The Beloochees never met us again on their hills after the lesson of Colonel Marshall, but were induced to make their last

attempt in hordes at Meanee and Hyderabad three years subsequently, when the gallant Napier gave the *coup de grace* to their power, by extinguishing the authority of the Ameers, and adding Scinde to the British Indian possessions.

I am enabled to add to this rough narrative, the gratifying orders of the Governor-General referred to above. They are at once confirmatory of my tale, and complimentary to the parties engaged in the campaign.

Government Gazettes, and Records of Services, of Captain T. Smith, Assistant Political-Resident at Nepaul, during the Years 1840 *and* 1841.

I.

Sukkur, November 2nd, 1840.

My Lord,

I did myself the honour yesterday of reporting my arrival at Sukkur. Among other papers which I found awaiting my arrival, was a General Order from his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, instructing me to remand Lieutenant Smith, of the 15th Regiment Bengal N.I., to his regiment.

The circumstances under which this officer was

appointed extra aide-de-camp by me were peculiar, and as I am most anxious to retain his services, which I find of great value, I consulted Mr. Bell this morning as to whether I could with propriety delay giving effect to his Excellency's order, pending a reference to your Lordship on the subject. Mr. Bell stated his opinion, that, aware as he was of your Lordship's desire that every aid should be afforded to us in this country, he had no hesitation in recommending me to retain Lieutenant Smith's services for the present, and lay before your Lordship my earnest application to be permitted to appoint him my second aide-de-camp. At the time Lieutenant Smith was appointed by me at Mhow, to proceed to Sukkur on my staff, I omitted in the hurry of preparation to observe the necessary formality of applying to the Supreme Government for the services of an officer belonging to the Bengal Presidency. But I am in hopes your Lordship will forgive this omission, and take the application which I have now the honour to submit into your favourable consideration.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

G. BROOKS,

Major-General, Commanding Field Army, Upper Scinde.

To the Rt. Hon. the Governor-general of India.

Head Quarters, Field Army,
Sukkur, 28th November, 1840.

II. (SECRET.)

Sir,

The Political Agent in Upper Scinde having placed your services at the disposal of the Major-General commanding Field Army for temporary duty, I am directed to acquaint you that you are required to carry a secret dispatch of importance to Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, or Officer commanding at Kotree.

2. Three running camels from my department are placed at your disposal, to enable you to convey this dispatch with the least possible delay.

3. You will place yourself under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, and afford him every assistance in your power. As you are in the entire confidence of the Major-General and Political Agent, you will request Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall to communicate the contents of the dispatch, and to consult with you on the plan of operations, and to attend to such suggestions as your knowledge of the General's sentiments may enable you to make.

4. You will be pleased further to request Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall to place the cavalry of his force under your immediate command during the operations. So soon as these operations are ended, you will return to head-quarters with all possible expedition, bearing

with you such reports or dispatches as Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall will have to make.

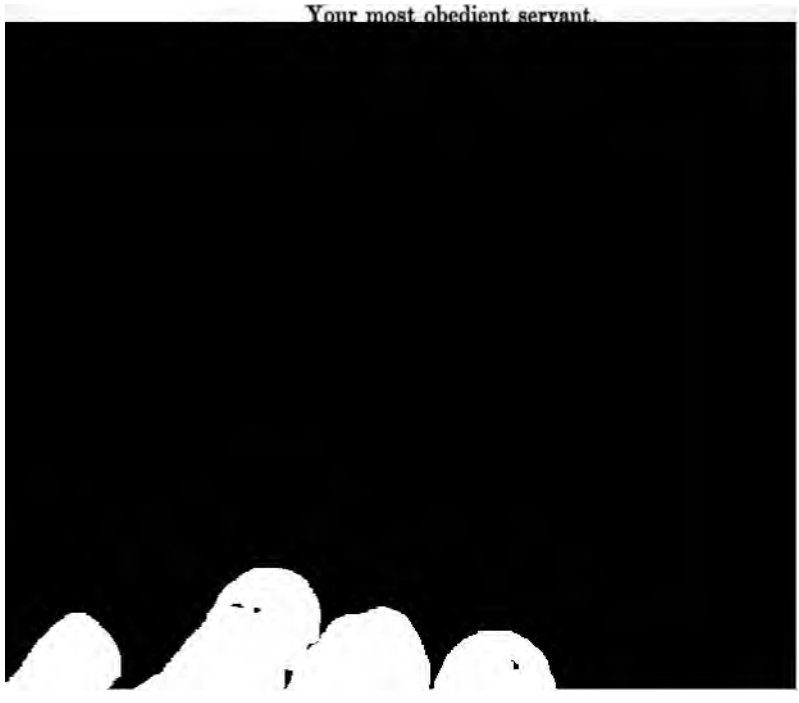
5. You will have the goodness to show this letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, as his authority for employing your services in the manner indicated in this letter.

6. Enclosed, I have the honour to forward a letter to all officers under the command of Major-General Brooks, requiring them to afford every aid in the shape of escorts, guards, provisions, &c., &c., that you may apply for, and that may be in their power to afford.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,



posted within the hills six miles from my camp. Lieutenant Smith performed this duty in thirty-two hours, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, although he was fired on and harassed by the Brahooes. His conduct during my attack on Nusseer Khan was most praiseworthy; and I have no hesitation in saying he is fully qualified to fill any appointment that may be given him.

T. MARSHALL,

Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding Field Detachment.

Camp Kotree,

2nd December, 1840.

On this occasion, Lieutenant Smith commanded the Irregular Horse to my utmost satisfaction.

I.

FORT WILLIAM.

Secret Department, the 29th March, 1841.

General Orders by the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India, in Council.

The Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council, has not at an earlier period published, for general information, the result of a bold and successful attack made on the 1st of December last, on the force of the insurgent Brahooes, near Kotree, in the hills

adjoining Cutchee, by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, in consequence of not having received the ordinary official reports of the action; but in the absence of such reports, his Lordship in Council will no longer refrain from giving publicity to such official accounts as have reached Government of that brilliant affair, and has been pleased to direct the publication of the following documents, being extracts of and copies from Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall's Detachment Orders of the 2nd, and Major-General Brooks's Field Army Orders of the 6th December, 1840. In publishing these Orders, his Lordship in Council is happy to express his high approbation of the spirit and gallantry of the troops employed in this successful attack.

By order, &c.,

T. H. MADDOCK,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Camp Kotree, 2nd December, 1840.

Field Detachment Orders by Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall.

It is with feelings of the highest gratification that the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding this small force, expresses his admiration of the truly steady, brave, and soldier-like conduct of the troops under his command,

in the attack yesterday morning on the camp of Nusseer Khan. Nothing could have been better executed. To Captain Teasdale, commanding a detail of five hundred men, composed of the 2nd Grenadiers and 25th N.I., his most grateful thanks are due; the difficulty of the pass he had to force before getting into position in the rear of the enemy's camp, reflects the highest credit on all hands, and it is only to be regretted that the nature of the ground, and the guide losing the way in the dark, prevented this brave body of men from arriving at their post earlier, as the chances are, that, in that case, the object of the General commanding us might have been effected. To Captain Boyd and his little band the Lieutenant-Colonel returns his warmest thanks, and requests he will explain to his detachment the highest opinion he has of their bravery.

The Lieutenant-Colonel has not words to express his sense of the service rendered to him by Captain Ennis, in taking two hundred men through the most difficult ground he ever saw, which was praiseworthy in the extreme, and by this movement the enemy were out-flanked, and turned into the mouths of our guns, and of a brave body of the 2nd Grenadiers, by which means a number were slain, and one hundred and thirty-two made prisoners.

Captain Rebenack is assured by the Lieutenant-Colonel that he highly appreciated the steady and

soldier-like way in which he led on the Light Company. To Captain Jackson also his thanks are due for his steady conduct. In fact, the Lieutenant-Colonel must conclude by expressing his warmest thanks to all arms employed, and requests this Order may be explained to the different detachments as early as possible. To Lieutenant Pruen, the Lieutenant-Colonel has to return his warmest thanks for the practice he made with his guns; nothing could have been better done, and he trusts he may long have that active officer under his command.

The Lieutenant-Colonel has now to return his warmest thanks to Captain Smith, A.D.C. to the General commanding, for his truly useful services with the Irregular Horse. To Captain Wallace, the Lieutenant-Colonel begs to return his thanks for his activity in gaining information of the enemy when we were in position.

The Lieutenant-Colonel now concludes with saying that he never wishes to lead braver men into the field, for braver cannot be found.

The strength and nature of the enemy's position must have been plain to all who observed it.

It is now his painful duty to express his deep regret at he loss the has sustained in the death of Lieutenant Lodge; a braver, steadier, or better regimental staff-officer there never was; and the Lieutenant-Colonel is

convinced his memory will be lasting with his brother officers and men.

The brave fellows killed have met a soldier's death—one of glory; the wounded, the Lieutenant-Colonel, on visiting the hospital this morning, was happy to find in good spirits, although some of them were severely wounded.

The Lieutenant-Colonel returns thanks to Doctors Jephson and Knight for their kindness to the wounded.

(Signed)

T. MARSHALL,

Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding Field Detachment.

(COPY.)

Field Army Orders, by Major-General Brooks, Commanding the Forces in Scinde.

Camp Sukkur, 6th December, 1840.

Major-General Brooks has much satisfaction in notifying to the troops composing the field army, the signal success which has attended that portion of it stationed at Kotree, under Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall.

The Major-General having received authentic intelligence that Nusseer Khan, with the garrison of Khelat, about four thousand men, had been encamped in a strong position in the hills, within eight miles of Kotree,

and that reinforcements to the extent of many thousands were on the road from Thull to join him, directed Lieutenant Smith, 15th Regiment Bengal N.I., and Acting A.D.C. to the Major-General, to proceed express to Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall's camp, with orders for the Lieutenant-Colonel to attack the Khan in his position. Lieutenant Smith left this at two o'clock on the 28th ultimo, and although his progress was greatly impeded by falling in with a large body of the enemy's cavalry, who followed and fired on him for several miles, he succeeded in reaching Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall's camp on the morning of the 30th, completing a march of one hundred and fifty miles in thirty-eight hours. The attack was made the following morning at daylight, by Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, at the head of nine hundred infantry of the 2nd Grenadiers, 21st and 25th Regiments, commanded by Captains Boyd, Ennis, and Teasdale, with sixty Irregular Horse, under Lieutenant Smith, and two guns, under Lieutenant Pruen.

The enemy were completely surprised—Nusseer Khan, with two followers, escaped on foot at the first alarm, but his chiefs and followers made a long and desperate defence; nor was it until four of the principal chiefs, and upwards of five hundred men, were left dead on the field, and nearly the whole of the rest put to flight, hat the enemy's chief commander, Meer Bohur, with

his son, six other chiefs, and one hundred and thirty-two of their bravest followers, surrendered themselves prisoners. The whole of the enemy's baggage, and a large quantity of arms, fell into our hands.

The loss on our side, considering the obstinate nature of the conflict, was wonderfully small:—Lieutenant Lodge, 25th Regiment, one Havildar, and nine rank and file, killed; two Havildars, and twenty-eight rank and file wounded.

The Major-General returns his best thanks to and sincerely congratulates Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, the European and native officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates on this brilliant achievement.

The service of Captain Boyd, 2nd Grenadiers, Captain Ennis, 21st Regiment, Captain Teasdale, of the 25th Regiment, and Lieutenant Pruen, of the Artillery, deserve particular praise, and will be brought to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The services of Lieutenant Smith deserve the Major-General's warmest praise, not only for his gallantry in the field, which was conspicuous, but for the determined perseverance and courage which he displayed, in pressing on, despite of fatigue and the danger which surrounded him, in a country occupied by the enemy, so as to deliver his dispatches to Colonel Marshall in time to insure the instructions they contained being carried into effect, before the arrival of the reinforcements expected by

the enemy, which would have rendered the attempt impracticable.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) T. DONNELLY,

Captain Assistant Adjutant-General, Scinde.

(True Copies.)

T. H. MADDOCK,

Secretary to the Government of India.

IV.

(No. 1 of 1841.)

Head Quarters, Scinde Force,
Camp Sukkur, 1st January, 1841

Sir,

In reporting the departure of Lieutenant Smith, 15th Regiment Bengal N.I., to join his regiment, pursuant to instructions, I do myself the honour of requesting, as a particular favour, that you will bring to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, that Lieutenant Smith's conduct during the late active operations against the Brahooees has obtained for him the admiration of every individual of the Scinde Force.

A braver young soldier, and a more active zealous officer, I never met with; and I deeply regret that cir-

cumstances have rendered it expedient I should be deprived of his services.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) G. B. BROOKS,

Major-General, Commanding Scinde Force.

To Major-General Lumley,

Adjutant-General of the Army.

Bengal.

(True Copy.)

T. DONNELLY,

Captain Assistant Adjutant-General, Scinde Force.

V.

To Lieutenant T. Smith, 15th Bengal N.I.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the appointment to which you were recently nominated as a temporary arrangement, has not been sanctioned by the Government of India.

In requesting you to make an early arrangement for rejoining your corps, I beg leave to return my best

thanks to you for the excellent manner in which the services entrusted to you have been performed.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

ROSS BELL,

Political Agent, U. S.

Political Agency, Sukkur,
1st January, 1841.

VI.

Extract of Military Letter, from the Honourable the Court of Directors, to the Governor of Bengal, No. 44, *dated* 6*th July*, 1842.

Letter, dated 28th December, 1841. No. 164.

46. In consideration of the peculiar circumstances in which Lieutenant Thomas Smith was placed, and of the gallantry and zeal displayed by him on the field, we are disposed to authorise the grant to him of those staff, and other allowances to which he would have been entitled by the regulations of the service, if the appointment as extra aide-de-camp conferred upon him by Major-General Brooks, in General Orders, dated Mhow, 11th September, 1840—and in virtue of which, he

proceeded to Scinde, had been confirmed by your government.

True Extract.

(Signed)

Official Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) J. R. LUMLEY,

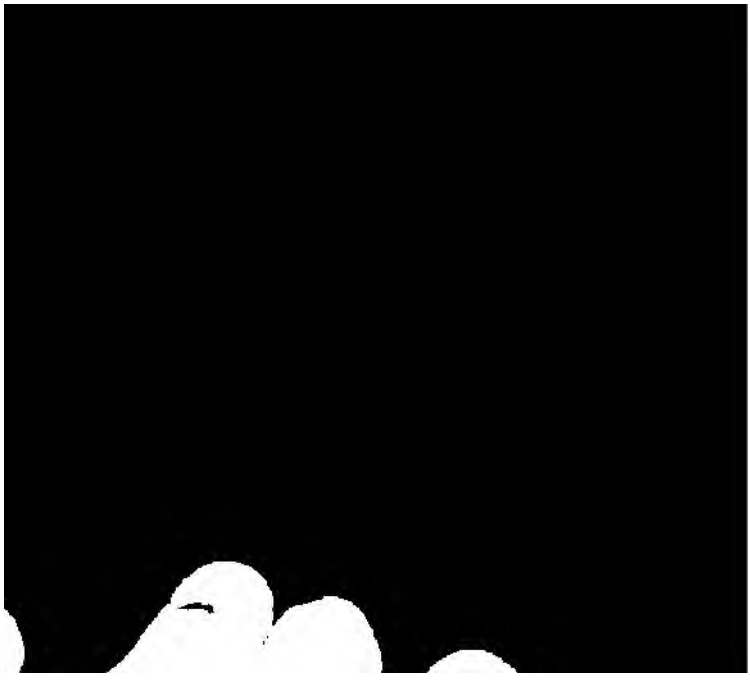
Major-General, Adjutant-General of the Army.

The rules of the service did not permit of my continuing aide-de-camp to General Brooks. I therefore rejoined my regiment, and no opportunity presented itself to Government of giving me any appointment, as a sort of compensation for my "ride," until 1841, when I was appointed Assistant to the Resident, and to command the escort of the British Resident at Nepaul. The latter duty was an exceedingly easy one; though it sometimes called into action all the firmness and energy I could muster, and as it was accompanied by the tenure of the assistantship to the Resident,

I did not consider that I had been altogether unrewarded.

It was during the leisure which I enjoyed at Khatmandoo that the previous occurrences narrated in the following pages transpired, and the idea suggested itself of collecting material for an account of the kingdom and people.

That the chapters devoted to history, zoology, statistics, &c., may not be interrupted by egotism, I may here be pardoned for inserting certain testimonials to the manner in which I performed my duties at the Nepaul Residency.



for the Right Honourable the Governor-General's Camp, after having had, on the previous evening, in my company, a courteous audience of leave from the Muha Rajah and his Son.

2. On his way through the city again yesterday, the Muha Rajah threw himself into Captain Smith's path, for the purpose of saying that the recent exorbitancies had been the doing of the unruly heir apparent; that his Highness would take care to prevent them in future; and that he would satisfactorily adjust with the Resident the pending matters of dispute.

3. It appears, therefore, that however gross the Rajah's hypocrisy, the restraining effect of this measure, which was announced to the Rajah merely as the result of a summons to myself that I could not from ill health obey, has been rightly calculated, and is already in operation. That the operation may continue, and be attended with some material degree of efficacy, is all we have at present to desire.

4. Captain Smith's prompt offer of his services on this occasion, the moment he thought they might be useful, is in entire harmony with prior similar acts of devotion, and deserves the highest commendation. With what intelligent industry he has shown since his arrival here, to make himself master of the state of affairs, the Right Honourable the Governor-General will soon have opportunity to judge, and on this point

I will not presume to anticipate the approbation of his Lordship.

To Captain Smith's care I have committed some principal dispatches of the past three years, duly arranged, and which Captain Smith is prepared to give either a written or verbal summary of, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) B. H. HODGSON,

Resident.

for its preparation, which I understand he has done, at some expense and much labour.

* * * * *

¶ 3. My short observation of the Goorkha Force, at the capital, leads me to judge that Captain Smith's notes on the army are in the main correct, and I have also reason to believe that the numbers of men, and quantities of stores entered on his return, are not far from the truth.

* * * * *

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE,

Resident.

(True Copy and Extract.)

J. R. COLVIN,

Resident.

CHAPTER II.

perception, and there is certainly no better way of reaching completeness than by the assumption that every reader is totally ignorant of the matter treated, yet avid for information and entirely dependant on the author's accuracy and conscientiousness.

The kingdom, or state of Nepaul, is a tract of country about seven hundred and fifty miles in length, and one hundred and seventy in breadth, situated between 26° 31′ and 30° N. latitude. It is bounded on the north by a part of Thibet, from which it is separated by the Himalaya chain ;* on the east, by Bootan and

* The boundary line to the north is not in our maps properly laid down. It appears by a recent communication from a Nepaul officer, who accompanied the mission to England in the year 1850, that the line should leave the boundary as laid down by us at Gossingtan, from which place, westward, both slopes of the main chain of the Himalayas belong to Nepaul. The boundary then runs along a ridge to the north of the Himalaya, including Mustang, a place about thirty miles from the foot of Dhawalagiri, and much resorted to by pilgrims. From Mustang th e

the little Rajahship, or state of Sikkim, from which it is separated by the river Teesta; on the south, by the British-Indian province of Tirhoot, from which it is divided by the Terai, an immense forest, the eastern part of which is called the Moray district; and on the west, by the kingdom of Oude. The divisions of Nepaul are Jumla, Goorkha, Nepaul, Muckwanpore, and Morung. The principal rivers which traverse the territory are the Kalee and Surgoo,

frontier continues west, including the valley of Humla, with the head waters of the river Gogra. From this it appears that the distance from the Nepaul and Thibet frontier, to the Bramaputra or Dsanpo river, is about fourteen miles. The two largest villages to the north, which carry on a great trade in salt with Thibet, are called Thak and Mooktinalt. It should be borne in mind that this boundary is claimed for Nepaul by a Nepaulese, whose assertions there have been no means of disputing. It is not impossible that he may have defined the boundary accurately, but as the extension of their territory has always been a favourite purpose with the Nepaulese, their own definitions must always be received with caution, if not with suspicion.

which, meeting at a place called Bramadee, form the Goggra and Gunduck. The Gunduck is supposed to rise in the Himalayas, and flows into the Ganges near Patna. The upper part of the river is called Salgramee, from the stones called Salgrams which are found in it, and which the Hindoos hold in veneration.

The geographical position of the British territory, relating to Nepaul, is now as follows:

To the extreme west of Nepaul, lies Almorah, a hill-station, wrested from the Nepaulese in the war of 1815—16; to the extreme east is Darjeling, another hill-station, used by the Supreme Government of India as a sanatarium for invalids. The principal British cities and military stations which border on the Nepaul territory along the line of the Ganges, are, Berhampore (contiguous to the Morung district), Monghyr, Patna, Dinapore, Ghazeepore, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Futteghur, and Bareilly; the last named town lying opposite to a Nepaulese fort called Doti, and a few miles from the hill-station of Almorah.

The Terai, or Turry, or Turyanee, is a long strip or belt of low level-land. The word, probably, signifies low or marshy lands, but it is sometimes applied to the flats lying below the hills in the interior of Nepaul, as well as to the level tract bordering immediately on the British frontier. It abounds with large and lofty forest-trees, the chief of which are the Saul and the Bechiacori pine. Some of the Saul spars reach the length of seventy to eighty feet, and are generally considered unequalled for strength and durability. In this respect, however, they must yield to the teak, for there is this peculiarity in Saul, that it is seen to warp soon after having been employed, in bulk for many years, rising into large fissures longitudinally, and falling a prey to the white ants. Small quantities of gold-dust are found in the Gunduck, which runs through the Terai, and Lignea Cassia is likewise produced in the jungle. The latter, under the name of Sing Rowla, is much used in Hindostan in spicery: the bark of the root does not differ widely from cinnamon, for which

it has often been mistaken, but the bark of the trunk and branches possess little of the cinnamon flavour.

Beyond the Terai, and still bearing its name, is a range of hills of about the same width, at the northern base of which commences the valley of Nepaul. This valley, which is nearly oval in shape, is about twelve miles from north to south, and nine miles from east to west. Its circuit has been roughly estimated by the inhabitants at twenty-five coss, or from forty to fifty miles. The range of mountains to the north of the valley is stupendous; the ranges to the east and west are much less lofty, the immediate head of the valley to the westward being defined principally by a low, steep ridge covered with brushwood.

At the foot of the northern range, situated upon the eastern bank of a small river called the Bishenmuttee, in latitude 27° 42′ N.; longitude 85° E., stands the city of Khatmandoo, the capital of Nepaul. It is not the largest of the towns in the valley, but enjoys the eminence

of a metropolis, because it is the residence of the Rajah, or king, of Nepaul. In length, Khatmandoo may measure about a mile; its breadth is inconsiderable, nowhere exceeding half and seldom extending beyond a quarter of a mile. The name, says Colonel Kirkpatrick, by which the town is distinguished in ancient books, is Gorgoolputten: the Newars call it Yindaisé, whilst among the Parbuttias, or mountaineers, it is styled Kultipoor, an appellation which seems to proceed from the same source with Khatmandoo, and derived, it is believed, from its numerous wooden temples, which are among the most striking objects in the city. These edifices are not confined to the body of the town, but are scattered over its environs, particularly along the sides of a quadrangular tank, or reservoir of water. The houses are of brick and tile, with pitched or painted roofs. On the street-side they have frequently enclosed wooden balconies of open carved-work, and of a singular fashion; the front piece, instead of rising perpendicularly, projecting in a sloping

direction towards the eaves of the roof. They are of two, three, and four stories, and almost without a single exception are of a mean and poor appearance. The streets are excedingly narrow, and very filthy.

The city of Patun is of the next importance. It occupies a rising spot of ground, situated about two miles S. by E. of Khatmandoo, and close to the confluence of the Munnohra, Tookcha, and Bhagurutty rivers. The figure ascribed to it, is that of the Chucro, or wheel of Narain. Patun is called Yellodaise by the Newars; and it is likewise occasionally distinguished from Deo Patun, by the appellations of Lallit-Patun and Lall-Patun. It is a neater town than Khatmandoo.

Bhatgong is perhaps still more superior to Khatmandoo, for though the least considerable of the three towns in point of size, yet its buildings in general have a more striking appearance; and its streets, if not much wider, are at all events much cleaner than those of the metropolis, a distinction which it owes to its admirable brick

pavement. Bhatgong lies E. by S. of Khatmandoo, at a distance of nearly eight road miles. Its ancient name was Dhurmapatun, and it is called by the Newars, Khopodaire; by whom it is also described to resemble in figure the Dumbroo, or guitar, of Mahadeo. It is the favourite residence of the Brahmins of Nepaul, containing many more families of that order, than Khatmandoo and Patun together.

Kirthipoor occupies the summit of a low hill, about three miles west of Patun. It was at one time the seat of an independent prince; and its reduction cost the Goorkhali prince so much trouble, that in resentment of the resistance made by the inhabitants, he barbarously caused all the males, whom he captured in it, to be deprived of their noses. Chobar is also situated on an eminence, which with that of Kirthipoor, forms a kind of saddle hill.

Nepaul contains, from its locality, every variety of climate. The fourth of it lies in the hot plains of the Ganges, and the remaining

three parts lie on the slope of the Indian Andes, from the elevation of five thousand feet up to the limit of perpetual snow. It is alleged to contain from forty-three thousand to fifty thousand square miles, and to have two million inhabitants. It may be called the Switzerland of India; but its area is equal to that of three Switzerlands, while the amount of its population is no more than one third part as great.

The superior part of the soil consists of an indistinct mixture of light mould, sand and gravel, supported by a deep black unctuous earth, which the cultivators spread over their rice-fields in the manner of manure. The lands of Nepaul, under which denomination are comprehended, not only those of Nepaul proper and of Goorkha, but of such conquered districts as have been thoroughly settled, may be arranged into Crown lands, the Birtha or Brehmoter lands, the Kohrya and Bari lands, and the Kaith lands. The Crown lands, or the Rajah's immediate estates, are situated chiefly in the Goorkha territory; some of them are

cultivated by husbandmen, with whom the Prince divides their produce; others are managed immediately by his agents, and tilled by the neighbouring husbandmen, and others are farmed out.

The Birtha or Brehmoter lands are two kinds, viz., the Kaos-Birtha, and the Soona-Birtha. The former are rarely bestowed excepting on Brahmins; and the latter tenure is that by which certain Newars, and other natives of different countries, subjected by the Goorkhalis, continue to hold their ancient possessions under the government of their conquerors. Those lands, although rent free, saleable and habitable, like the first named, are not enjoyed on terms equally easy, as they must be renewed on similar terms under every succeeding prince. The Kohrya and Bari lands are destitute of springs, and have no streams passing through them. A Bari is properly an enclosed fruit or kitchen garden, unsupported with spring or running water. Kohyra land is often comprehended in Jagheers, but it is not productive

to the Jagheerdar, as it requires considerable labour, and yields after all no very profitable grains. The Kaith or plantation lands are of the first quality, being well watered by springs and rivulets. They have a rich soil, and yield, with moderate labour, all the superior kinds of grain. They are principally situated in the valleys, the lowest of which are, generally speaking, the most fertile; but they are not uncommon even in the higher lands, some of which are abundantly supplied with water.

The principal rivers which traverse the Nepaul territory, are the Bhagmutty, Bukkia, Jumni, Billye or Billarie, Sukkati or Sukti, Kurroo, Rapti, Boori, Gunduck, Zillaive, Baharanuddee, Dohar, Gadh or Gadhi, Sunghirja, Nagrote, Becheacori, and some smaller streams. Those in and about the valley of Nepaul, are the Bishenmuttee, Dhobeekola, Munohia, Hummunta, and the Kushni Kushen.

CHAPTER III.

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTION OF NEPAUL.

THE height of Nepaul above the level of

of May, and set in from the S.E. quarter; they are usually very abundant, and break up towards the middle of October.

In describing the climate of Nepaul, we ought not to confine ourselves to the valley, since by a journey of three or four days one may actually exchange a heat equal to that of Bengal for the cold of Russia, by barely moving from Nyakote to Khuroo, or over to Rancha. Few would seek a finer climate in winter than that of Chittlong, or in summer, a more elastic and sharper air than is to be breathed on the tops of the summit of Chandragheery. Not only are the tops of the surrounding mountains sprinkled with snow for several days together during the winter, but it even sometimes falls in the valley below. A hoar frost too, at this season very commonly covers the ground; but though the cold is occasionally for three or four months severe enough to congeal the tanks and pools of standing water, yet the rivers are never frozen. With respect to the salubrity of the non-elevated vallies and situations, it would

seem to be abundantly proclaimed in the general looks of the inhabitants, among whom, if the Newar peasantry take the lead in point of robustness, it is to be attributed to their laborious, but invigorating occupation.

The exceeding jealousy with which, in imitation of their Chinese neighbours, the Nepaulese have regarded the visits of intelligent and enquiring Europeans to the interior of the country has made it difficult to obtain accurate information respecting the wealth of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms; and but for the advantages enjoyed by Mr. B. Hodgson, when British resident at Khatmandoo, in indulging his passion for Natural History, we might have remained in ignorance of the extent of the animal kingdom. Father Giuseppe, who published an account of Nepaul, in the Asiatic Researches, is nearly silent on this topic, and Colonel Kirkpatrick's investigations, during his journey to the capital, are somewhat limited. From such sources, however, as are available to us we gather the following facts.

In a previous page, mention has been made of the enormous fruit trees which are to be found in the Terai. In addition to the Saul, and the Bechiaconri pine, are to be found the Sissoo, the Setti-saul, the Phullamikal, (an iron wood) the Kalikset, (a sort of black wood), the Sajk, the Burra, the Sunni, and the Moolta. Besides this, there is a small quantity of ebony. These woods constitute in a great measure the commercial wealth of Nepaul. Wood merchants congregate at the southernmost point of the forest near the river Gunduck because of the facility presented by that river of floating the timber to Calcutta. Some of the woods, the Dubdubea, for example, a sort of ash, abounding in the Terai which is a powerful astringent, and constitutes an article of trade. The Bechiacori, called in Nepaul, Sulla and Surrendhool, or Dhoobkee (on account of its resinous quality) is chiefly consumed at home. Its branches are used as torches: the fragrant turpentine which it yields is employed in sacrifices, and in medicated salves, and its wood is converted into

rafts for houses. A great quantity of grass, brush and underwood intersect the trees of the Terai, and among the wild plants and fruits are to be found the nettle, wormwood, raspberries and mulberries. Here is likewise a curious shrub called the Khaksi, the leaf of which answers the purpose of emery or sand paper, giving a fine polish to the harder woods.

Leaving the level forest, and ascending the chain of hills which skirt the southern part of the valley of Nepaul, we find the highlands covered with wood of various kinds. There is the Phullaced, the Kâhôlô, the Sing Rowla, the Timmûe, the Chellownea, and the Seidburrooa. The first of these is a kind of oak, the wood of which is in high repute for its strength and durability; the acorns are used medicinally, and also serves as food for the pigs. Of the pith of the Kâhôlô, the poorer classes of the people, in time of scarcity, prepare a nutritious bread, which is sometimes mixed with flour. Of the Sing Rowla (the Lignea Cassia) mention has already been made. The Timmûe,

called also Taizbul (of which there are two species), is a curious plant, yielding a berry resembling black pepper in shape and size. The berry consists of a black or bicolor seed, contained in a thin shell or pod, which spontaneously opens when the fruit is ripe. The shell is a strong, pleasant spice, used for various culinary purposes, and likewise possesses great medicinal virtues. The Chillounea is also a singular tree. Its upper coat is entirely composed of innumerable needle-form fibres tolerably united by a kind of gelatinous sap. The wood makes good beams and rafters, and is held in such superstitious veneration by the natives, that no house is considered secure in which more or less of the timber has not been employed. The bark of the Seidburrooa is manufactured into a strong useful paper; it is also made into rope and black thread, but neither of them resist moisture well. Besides these trees, there are the Jumnomundroo, the Gûrras, the Puddiem or Payah, the Chootraphul, the Mahul and the Puhuttoli. The first of these bears yellow, sweet-smelling flowers

a branches; its leaves resemble those of the holly, and the wood is, both in closeness of texture and colour, very like box. The Gûrras is a tree that affects the highest situations; its flowers are large and of a deep red; and yield by decoction a purplish colour, which are converted by acids into a tolerable pink. The [illegible] resembles, in its leaf and wood, the English cherry, the latter (the wood) being used in carving by the natives. The Chootra-[illegible] is not unlike the barberry in appearance;

charcoal is made of the Bhâng or holly leafed oak.

Upon the summit of the lofty hills, north of Khatmandoo are the Champah, a tree which measures in girth eleven feet at least, and the Shujh, or milk tree which grows to an enormous size.

The grains produced in the low lands of Nepaul, are Indian corn, rice, wheat, barley, millet and pulses of other kinds. The sugar cane is cultivated a good deal, and is profitable; but as its culture is expensive, the landowners raise no more than is necessary for their own consumption. Cotton grows in some places and garlic is abundant. Of the fruits, the chief are the pine-apple, the guava and the orange. The oranges of the valley of Nyakote are justly esteemed. They are propagated from the seed which is sown in earthen vessels filled with a black loom, some time in the month of Assar (July), if not exposed to the weather they are watered twice a day, and in Kartic (November) are transplanted, a proper distance being preserved between the young shoots: the

remain in the highest perfection for three months, preserving much of their excellence for six. Some gardens produce them throughout the whole year, but in that case the trees are obliged to be secured against the inclemencies of the weather. Of the vegetables of the country the principal are cabbages, peas, turnips potatoes, yams, and wild asparagus.

The most remarkable drug to be found in Nepaul is the Cherrus, the offspring of the plant Jeea. It is chiefly raised to the north west of the kingdom. The plant differs in no respect from the hemp, excepting in the odour of its leaves, which is of a most overpowering strength. The Cherrus is extracted from the shrub when the plant is in flower and its seeds on the point of maturity, it being material to the purity of the extract, that the leaf should not be parched or dry. The manipulations of the plant consist in rubbing the leaves gently between the hands until these become sufficiently charged with the juice, which adheres to the palms in the form of a dark, viscid, and tolerably consistent substance; this being removed with a spatula or knife, is made up into balls or lumps, which, third year they bear fruit, and when at maturity

while unrefined, are sold under the name of cherrus. The clarrified cherrus is called môмea (from its resemblance to wax), and burns with the brightness of a resinous flame. Its gum is a most potent narcotic, possessing very valuable medical qualities. The grosser products of the plant are called Gunja and Bharq or Subje, the former being a preparation of flowers and the latter of the leaves. From the hemp, the Newars of Nepaul fabricate some coarse linen and also a very strong kind of sackcloth. Spikenard (juttemasi) and gentian are to be added to the drugs of Nepaul.

The mountainous parts of Nepaul are rich in mines of iron and copper. The produce of the former is smelted in other hills than those where the ore is found. The copper is of a very superior kind, and before the opening of a trade between England and India was preferred for consumption in the territories of the King of Oude to that exported from this country. Its supercession by the European produce, doubtless arose from the difficulty and expense of

transportation through a mountainous tract, having no navigable rivers, and the ignorance of the Nepaulese in the arts of mineralogy and metallurgy. Lead mines, yielding also a proportion of silver, are to be found in Moulkote, and it is supposed that there are gold mines to the north, though as yet no traces of gold have been discovered excepting in the beds of the torrent which rush through Kachar to the eastward. The recent discoveries of extensive mines in Australia and California may, perhaps, lead to a geological comparison in view to the determination of the extent of the mineral wealth of Nepaul; but as this is a matter of less interest to ourselves than to the Nepaulese, it is unnecessary to go into speculation as to the probable results of research. The western parts of Nepaul abound in arsenic and pyrites, marble, jasper, chrystal, limestone, slate, &c., and the beds of the streams which spring from the south face of Koomhara mountain are strewed with huge blocks of talc of two or three kinds, the most esteemed of which is the Koushnocbruik or black talc.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANIMALS OF NEPAUL; WITH SOME NARRATIVES OF SPORT IN THE FOREST.

THE animal kingdom of Nepaul seems to comprehend all the classes, quadrupedal and bipedal, to be found in the plains and mountains of Hindostan, only qualified by climate and situation. The low and level lands abound with elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, &c.; the hilly portions, with bears, deer, of every variety, and a great many of the finest members of the feathered creation.

The domestic cattle of Nepaul, generally speaking, do not seem much superior to those ordinarily indigenous to Bengal and the Upper Provinces; but it is otherwise with regard to the native horses. It is true that they are but little distinguished in respect to size; yet they appear very strong and plump, and exhibit a greater variety, in point of colour, than is usually seen in the lower parts of India.*

The cows, though very good-looking, would differ considerably in comparison with our English cattle. Their milk, however, is not surpassed for sweetness or richness by any in the world. Besides the above, are the kustoora, or musk-deer, a native of Cachar, or Lower Thibet, commonly met with in Nepaul; the chowry (known in Hindostan by the name of soori-ghae); the chaugra, or shawl-goat; sheep of all kinds; and a peculiar dog. This dog, which is known in Bengal by the name of the

* Perhaps the most extraordinary is a pony called the hubshee, from the strong resemblance of its coat to a curly-headed negro.

Nepaul dog, is, properly speaking, a native of the Upper and Lower Thibets, whence it is usually brought to Nepaul. It is a fierce and surly creature, about the size of an English Newfoundland, and covered with thick long hair. It is reckoned to be a good watch-dog, and never to sleep at night. The tanguns, or tanyans, so much esteemed in India for their hardiness, come entirely from Upper Thibet; and, notwithstanding their make, are so sure-footed that the people of Nepaul ride them without fear over very deep mountains and along the brink of the deepest precipice.

Of the birds, the principal are the chuckore, moonal, and damphia, the last two belong to the pheasant tribe; and the chuckore is well known by the name of the fire-eater. It is a species of partridge, bigger than the red-grouse, and derives its name from its fondness for red pepper and its reputed power of swallowing fire. The calidge, cyrus, ortolan, wild-goose, wild-duck, and several other species of the feathered tribe, common to Bengal and the

rest of the countries lying to the southward of Nepaul, are occasionally seen in this and the adjacent vallies, where, however, they appear merely as birds of passage, making only a stage of Nepaul in their flight from Hindostan to Thibet. They begin to migrate from their native plains towards the middle of April, whither they return from the elevated regions in the vicinity of the Himalayas become too inclement for their abode.

With regard to fish, Nepaul is as bad an angling as a bird country, for though some of the rivers may almost be said to be animated, yet they are at the same time so transparent and so rapid, that the fish with which they swarm can by no means be brought to bite. The Rapti abounds with fish of all kinds.

In many parts of the forests animals abound, particularly the elephant, and as the death of one of these magnificent animals will form the principal subject of the present chapter, I will here offer a few remarks upon their nature, and the course pursued by the Nepaulese

in obtaining possession of them, which differs greatly from the means employed for similar purposes by the British government in the Chittagong districts, where the elephants are taken by pitfalls and khedahs. The former method is objectionable, because of the enormous bulk of the animals. When falling into the trap, about seven out of ten of them are generally severely injured, and are thus rendered useless to the government. The khedah or enclosure ensures only the taking of small or half-grown male elephants. Remarkably fine and full-grown females are frequently captured in this manner. In the Chittagong district are to be found by far the finest and the largest elephants caught in India, but the difficulty of acclimatising them to Upper India is so great that seldom more than four out of ten, when sent to the upper-provinces, are preserved; change of food, and what all natives declare to be a greater evil still, change of "pawnee" (water), are supposed to be the main causes of premature mortality. The natives of India are

firm believers in water, and every kind of sickness or ailment is invariably laid to the charge of that element. Being great consumers of that beverage, they certainly ought, generally speaking, to be good judges. Be this as it may, the Chittagong elephants are decided water-drinkers, and so are those in the upper country; we may therefore infer that the Chittagong water must be the better suited for these animals. It is, however, injuriously operative to humanity, as witness the frightful enlargement of human legs in that district, arising from elephantiasis, a disease which causes a moderate-sized person's leg to become increased to the dimensions of a muscular Yorkshireman's thigh, his wretched toes appearing like a fringe to his bloated limb. The catching and taming of wild elephants furnish a large source of revenue to the Nepaul government. The mode of taking them is this: The Taroos, or elephant-catchers, having marked down a wild herd of three hundred or four hundred elephants, the following preparations are made. About two

hundred Taroos collect together, mounted upon elephants, and accompanied by two large "taking elephants," highly fed, and thereby kept always musth (sensual). The herd of wild elephants having been started, they get away trumpeting and whistling into the thickest part of the forest, hotly pursued by the mounted Taroos, each of whom is provided with three or more nooses, called the moosack, which is made of very strong raw hide, well soaked in oil, and so ingeniously contrived, that when once attached to the elephant, the hind legs are gradually drawn together at every step he takes, until he is brought to a complete stand-still. The chase continues frequently for twenty miles at full speed, until, in fact, the wild herd becomes blown and is brought to a stand. The danger then commences, from the wild ones dashing at their pursuers, in their turn causing the most intense excitement during half an hour, until the arrival of the two musth elephants, whose bulk prevents their keeping up with the more active ones, ridden by the Taroos.

These two elephants, each having three keepers upon their backs, dash into the herd. Their appearance, accompanied by the powerful nauseous odour emitted by musth elephants, creates an immediate panic among the wild ones, and soon paralyzes their efforts of resistance. The active little Taroos now slide down from their steeds, and under cover of one of the musth elephants, who pushes himself forcibly against the wild one selected from the herd, they, in a most dexterous and daring manner, slip the moosack on to each of the hind legs, which performance occupies about three minutes. The noosed elephant is then allowed to depart, and he goes off evidently delighted; but as the noose becomes contracted at every stride, he finds his intended flight brought to a close, at a distance of sixty or seventy yards. After operating upon about fifty wild elephants in a similar manner, the Taroos permit the remainder of the herd to abscond, and employ themselves in fastening the noosed elephants to separate trees, where they are detained from two to three

weeks under the careful charge of the takers. If any of the captured show symptoms of violence, they are immediately punished most severely by two of the large tame elephants, who belabour them unmercifully with their trunks. Two such thrashings effectually cure the most insubordinate, and at the expiration of six weeks, the once free and independant denizen of the forest has a keeper on his back, and becomes as quiet as if he had been in a state of subjection all his life.

As Chittagong is renowned for the beauty and size of its elephants, so is Nepaul celebrated for the hardiness and ugliness of her produce: a fatal peculiarity extending to the Nepaulese themselves. The full-grown female elephants seldom exceed seven feet and a half in height, but the males of forty years old, at which age they are considered to be full-grown, are fine fellows, averaging from nine to eleven feet. The elephant whose death I am about to describe was eleven feet four inches in stature. His head and tusks were in possession of the

late Earl of Derby, at Knowlsey Park, near Liverpool; and, as his lordship's splendid collection there was open to the public, any one wishing to satisfy himself of the battering required by an Indian elephant before he bites the dust could inspect the specimen to which I refer. I can well remember that he fought me for two hours before I killed him, and I had not made his acquaintance (on foot) ten minutes, before I repented my past folly in confronting him, and would, if he had allowed me, have readily beaten a most ignominious retreat, gladly leaving him even my favourite guns wherewith to amuse himself. During my stay at Nepaul, I had upon various occasions been so fortunate as to kill sundry rhinoceroses, tigers, and bears, with some ease, and during a visit of ceremony to the Durbar (court), when Mr. Brian Hodgson to whose persevering researches in zoology and ornithology reference has already been made, was resident at Nepaul, the Rajah asked me. at an audience, if I thought I should be able to kill a wild elephant. I answered in the

affirmative, when he added: "But I wish you to understand, that the one I allude to is a fearful shitan (devil): he has been musth for many years!" I must here observe, that an elephant when musth is mad, and while in that state is always avoided, and not driven away (as is generally but erroneously supposed) by the rest of the herd. He is thus compelled to become a solitary, but very dangerous hermit. His Highness added, that his elephant-catching had been entirely put a stop to by the animal in question, and that no one dared to go into that part of the forest in which he took up his quarters. I replied, that in elephant shooting I had acquired but little practical experience, having at that time killed but one, an unfortunate wretch, about fifteen years old, who, either from stupidity or fright, would not get out of my way, and that I had brought him down with the third shot. The Rajah then said, that as he had given me permission (which was the first that had been granted to an English officer) to sport in his forests, I ought

to endeavour to render an important service to Nepaul, and that I certainly should do so if I succeeded in destroying this elephant.

I immediately undertook the trial, and promised to do my best; but, upon taking leave, the Rajah said: "I am not quite in earnest about that elephant, and would rather you should not go near him; for two years ago, I sent down a couple of guns, six-pounders, to destroy him, but the party, after firing two shots at, and missing, him, had to run for their lives, leaving the two six-pounders which the elephant amused himself by upsetting." I told his Highness that, as the elephant had already destroyed so many human beings (native reports had stated upwards of one hundred, though I considered the number to have been greatly over-rated), I had made up my mind to encounter this animal. The Rajah hereupon appointed two native chiefs, named Sirdar Bowanee Sing, and Sirdar Delhi Sing, the reputed Nimrods of Nepaul, to accompany me. These two chiefs assured the Rajah on taking leave, that if I should not be

able to destroy the famous "Shikar Bassa Hattee," they would do so: and we shall presently see to what extent these two valiant Sirdars fulfilled their promises. We took our departure the following day, the Sirdars taking with them at least twenty guns each, English and Hindostanee. I had my own usual battery of two double-barrelled rifles, one single rifle, carrying a three ounce ball, and three first-rate double guns. We opened our sporting campaign at Hitounda, the half-way house from Nepaul to the British territory. Many deer, eleven tigers, and seven rhinoceroses, fell to my battery, the two Nepaul chiefs having shown a most religious horror of coming in contact with the last-named formidable animals. The Indian rhinoceros is certainly an ugly customer, evincing a great dislike to being disturbed in his muddy bath. Upon being compelled to move, he at once makes off to another swamp, and, if interfered with on his way, he invariably shows fight, and is not then to be despised; for when he once takes up a position, he will dispute it to

the last with the most determined ferocity, neither giving nor receiving quarter. I was much amused, after killing my fifth rhinoceros by being waited upon by the two chiefs in the afternoon, and after the usual compliments, informed by them that they had received an intimation from the Durbar, that the Court was surprised from their own sporting qualifications, they should allow an Englishman to kill so many rhinoceroses in the Terai, without their having destroyed one; and, that if they were either unwilling to attempt, or incapable of achieving such an enterprise, they were immediately to return, to be replaced by other chiefs, who would be more careful not to disgrace themselves as they had done. My chiefs were evidently in a great state of alarm, so I told them, if they felt inclined to distinguish themselves, I would soon procure them a favourable opportunity. They frankly confessed their incapability of profiting by my offers, but earnestly implored me to save their *hoormut* (honour). To this I acceded, and the next day intelligence

was brought that there were four rhinoceroses within a mile of us. At their own request, I lent each of the chiefs one of my guns, as they had a firm impression that they were endowed with some kind of *jadoo* (witchcraft). We soon arrived at the head-quarters of the *ghindahs*. They were rolling in the mud, in the midst of a heavy swamp; and, finding themselves disturbed in the midst of their luxurious ablutions, they, as usual, got up, and made for another bath. I immediately intercepted them, and provoked two of the party to hostilities, when down they came to the charge. The brute that rushed at me I killed within six yards of the elephant Megreath, on which I was mounted, and which stood to the charge like a rock. I fortunately hit the rhinoceros in the only vital part, just under the foot of the ear, which is not easily accomplished. The other animal selected my friend Sirdar Delhi Sing's elephant, which immediately turned tail and bolted, but the rhinoceros was too quick for him, came up to the elephant in a few strides,

and with his tusks cut the fugitive so severely on the stern—nearly severing his tail—that he attempted to lie down under the pain. But the rhinoceros was again too quick for him, and bringing his horn into play, he introduced it under the elephant's flank; the horn tightened the skin, and then with his two frightful tusks he cut the poor animal so severely, that his entrails came rolling about his legs, as he fell, undergoing the dreadful assaults of his antagonist. The Sirdar now threw himself out of the howdah, and scrambled up a tree (which was close at hand), like a galvanized monkey. The other Sirdar was going across country, at Melton pace, on his elephant. Having disposed of my rhinoceros, I pushed up to the rescue, fearing, indeed, the Sirdar had been killed. On approaching within twenty yards, the rhinoceros relinquished the fallen elephant, and turned to have a charge at me. I brought him on his knees the first shot, but he recovered, and fought me valiantly; and, in consequence of my elephant being a little unsteady, it was not until

the fifth shot that he fell to rise no more. The poor mutilated elephant lived about two hours, and died in endeavouring to rise. I should at once have put it out of its misery, had the mahout not assured me, that if he could be got to the tents he should be able to recover it. From this account, it will be seen that the rhinoceros is armed with much more formidable tusks than the boar. These are the weapons he brings into such deadly operation, and not the horn, as many persons are led to believe.

Upon the day following this last event, whether out of revenge, or from an anxious desire to stand well with their sovereign, the two chiefs courageously proposed that we should go at once to destroy the Shirkar Bassa, or famous wild elephant. They both promised faithfully to support me, vowing to stand by, even to their toe nails (a favourite Indian expression), alledging that their honour was at stake, and without some such finale, they dare not shew their faces at Court again. I much doubted all these protestations, but thinking they might

possibly be seriously anxious to retrieve the disgrâce which fell upon them in the rhinoceros affair, I felt disposed to place confidence in them and agreed to their proposal. They then informed me, they had been favoured with a private and confidential communication from their deity, "Goruck," who had signified his gracious intention of supporting us, and would even condescend to protect an unbelieving Feringee upon such an occasion. I thanked them for Goruck's very kind intentions, but inwardly trusted with much greater confidence to a good ounce of lead well planted.

The morning dawned splendidly; we were all in excellent spirits, and the two chiefs, in appearance at least, were as brave as lions. While we were examining our guns and carefully arranging our ammunition, the savage Shikar Bassa elephant was marked down, having been discovered in his usual retreat. In order if possible to render the deity Goruck more wrathful, he had only the day before destroyed a Brahmin for firing a matchlock ball into his

elephant's side; the Brahmin having been provoked to do so, by the elephant destroying and eating up two fields of rice for his own private amusement. I saw the poor priest's mangled remains close to his hut; not a vestige of humanity remained, so frightfully had the brute trampled on and kneaded his body that not a bone escaped uncrushed; legs, arms, and carcass, could only be compared to some disgusting, indescribable mass, well pounded and furnished with a skin covering. This exhibition excited my anger, and I vowed the destruction of the destroyer.

Of the birth and parentage of this famous outlawed wild elephant, for so many years the dread and terror of all the Nepaul elephant catchers, I know little, but if a tenth part of the accusations bestowed by the Nepaulese upon his ancestors be true, he must have been a very low caste fellow, a compound of flatulent fowls and home fed pigs. However, it is certain he was a most powerful well grown beast, beautifully formed, head well set on and erect; and

would have been altogether an invaluable animal, could he have been persuaded to present himself at Court, and conduct himself properly. But he disdained such honours; he chose to remain lord paramount of the forest, and defied all comers to dispute it with him. He was supposed by the best judges to have been fifty years old, though triple that age in iniquity, and having set two generations of Nepaulese at defiance, indulged himself in the recreation of destroying any one who was fool enough to venture within his beat. Upon our arrival at a small deserted village within three miles of the monster's head quarters, our camp having been pitched, I was visited by the two Sirdars, accompanied by several villagers, who furnished me with most terrific accounts of his ferocity, and finding I was not easily alarmed, they evidently became so on my account, and endeavoured by every possible argument to dissuade me from the encounter. I observed that their arguments were useless; after coming so far to see the monster, I should not think of return-

ing until I had made his acquaintance. I then appealed to them as chiefs and sportsmen, inhabitants of a nation notorious for its bravery, whether it would not be considered most disgraceful cowardice to retire now, without even firing a shot? This appeal had the desired effect, and they then agreed, saying, "we can but die once, and if our respective time for doing so has arrived, we had better submit to it with honour." I gave them to understand that I did not at all approve of the dying part of their address, as I had no great personal aversion to life; but on the contrary, I felt confident, that well armed as we were, and supporting one another, we might, and ought to, conquer the monster. They then tried a pathetic allusion to their wives and families, to which I rejoined, that I had no such incumbrances, and should matters come to the worst, a few yards of black crape would be no very heavy tax to a brace of anxious brothers in England. Finding further persuasions of no avail, they requested I would write a few lines

to the Resident, to state that they had said and done all in their power to deter me from my purpose, which I promised. I had in my establishment some old and well-tried Shikarees, (beaters), who had witnessed some startling occurrences during our intercourse with the animal kingdom. One of them, dubbed Jack, was a low caste fellow, but when under the influence of arrack, he was very courageous and a firm believer in the transmigration of souls. I sent for Jack, who appeared as usual well impregnated, though his nervous system was somewhat influenced by the sudden epidemic of alarm, which had already attacked the natives of a higher caste. Jack could sport a little English, and after being duly informed as to what would be required of him, he said, "By gar captine dis dam job; dis elerfant de divil; kill captin sure enuf." Upon my asking him if he was prepared to stand by me, he vowed he would, simply remarking that by that time to-morrow, he should be a grazing bullock, and hoped he should have a good master.

At daylight the next morning, I was up, and found some two hundred Taroos had come in during the night. These men live entirely in the jungles, and speak a most unintelligible patois. Their appearance is of the wildest description, with hardly a vestige of clothing upon their bodies, and their long black hair plaited down to their waist, but when in pursuit of their avocations, they roll it round their heads like a turban, and with a black blanket, and their bodies well greased, their toilet is made. Accustomed to almost daily encounters with wild elephants, the Taroos have little fear, but they all expressed the utmost dread of this Shikar Bassa elephant, declaring their conviction of its being neither possible to take nor destroy him. After a long consultation it was decided that the operations should be commenced by the two famous tame male elephants employed in the taking expeditions. They were the finest animals of the kind I have ever seen, both being ten feet and a half at the shoulder, and in the highest condition. Their respective

names were Arang Bahadoor, and Motee Persaud, the latter with only one tusk, but in other respects a most powerful elephant, and noted for his courage.

These elephants were so highly prized, that I pledged my word to the chiefs, that if either of them should get worsted in the attack, I would go to their rescue, and attack the wild elephant myself; this quieted their fears, at least as far as the animals were concerned.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 7th of March 1844, we started from the tents, and at the expiration of an hour, we arrived at the place where this monster was to be found. Never shall I forget the scene! Upon our coming within a few yards of his position, Motee Persaud was leading, when out rushed the wild elephant with a terrific whistle, and immediately commenced a furious attack upon Motee. The meeting of these two mountains of flesh was really grand. Motee stood the shock well, but in ten minutes, it was quite evident the wild one was master; they crossed

their tusks, and pushed at each other like infuriated rams. Upon Motee giving way a general shout was raised by some three hundred voices. I immediately got off my elephant, followed by my five gun carriers, and fired a three ounce ball into the wild one's flank; he gave a hideous roar, eased his purchase on Motee Persaud, and retired to his quarters. A general scamper now took place. Away went the chiefs and Taroos (the former had never dismounted) with Motee Persaud at their heels, and after going about two miles at a rattling pace, Motee was secured with some difficulty and fastened to a tree.

I now determined upon attacking the brute on foot, Jack and my other attendants standing by me, though much disappointed that I had not joined in the general flight. The enemy soon showed symptoms of the humour he was in by tearing down branches of the trees, and dashing them in all directions; many of them were thicker than my body. Shortly afterwards about twenty tame buffaloes which

were grazing in the neighbourhood, and probably disturbed by the Taroos' elephants, came galloping across the plain near the monster's position. I saw him issuing from the forest, and in an instant he trampled one of the buffaloes to death, crushing every bone in his body; he then lifted another off the ground with the greatest ease, driving his tusks through and through him, and throwing the carcase to some distance, quite dead. He once more retreated to his cover, and in a few minutes I advanced to the attack: when within a hundred yards of him, out he came with that peculiarly shrill whistle, which must be heard from a wild elephant to be appreciated. He made his appearance with an enormous branch of a tree in his trunk, holding it well up over his head. His rush was splendid, and stopping at about sixty yards from me, he hesitated what to do; whisking the branch about, and kicking up the ground with his fore and hind feet with astonishing force, I certainly did not like his appearance, but it was now too late, so hostilities com-

menced. I first gave him the benefit of my old well-tried double rifle, and discharged the right barrel as true as the branch he was holding to the centre of his forehead would allow me to direct it. The ball stung him sharply; he dropt the branch as if it had been a red hot poker; shook his enormous head, and roared violently. I now had a clear look at him; the hole made in his forehead by the ball annoyed him exceedingly; he turned up his trunk to examine the wound, sucked out the blood, and throwing it over his head and shoulders, appeared to experience considerable astonishment. I was not at all disposed to allow him much time for reflection, for fear he might prove too troublesome, and as he was standing still, I favoured him with the left barrel, this time well planted just into the bump of his trunk, where it rises out of the head. As there was nothing to intercept my sight, this shot brought him upon his knees, in which position he remained just long enough to enable me to reload. On getting up he turned wildly about,

looking for me, and upon discovering my position, came down towards me at an awful pace. Anticipating this movement, I had my three ounce rifle prepared for his reception, and allowed him to come within twenty yards, when I sent the ball again into his forehead, which stopped him short; he began to stagger and roll about as if drunk, turned round three or four times, again felt over his bleeding forehead, sucking out pints of blood with his trunk, and showering it over his head and body which, originally black, had now been changed to a deep scarlet.

The fight up to this time had been carried on in the dry bed of the Raptee river, without a bush between us, but with a dense jungle on either side, so finding him a much thicker-headed and more disagreeable antagonist than I had inwardly bargained for, I considered it prudent to retreat into the jungle on my right, taking up my position behind a large tree. Not many minutes had elapsed ere he missed me, and rushing down to the spot where he had

last seen me, he began to hunt me out. Elephants possess a very keen sense of smell through the proboscis, but the blood was now streaming through the interior of that organ, which sadly perplexed his endeavours to sniff me out. By hard blowing he partially cleared the trunk, and discovering a clue to his opponent, came straight to the tree behind which I was concealed. I had no time to lose, I therefore treated him to a salute from the right and left barrels in rapid succession; the last shot, from his shaking his head at the first, glanced off the bone and scooped out his right eye, the pain of which drove him nearly mad. He spun himself round in intense agony; his roars were appalling, and he ploughed up the ground with his feet to an extent that, if described, would appear an exaggeration to those who have not seen an elephant, particularly an enraged one, in the act of performing that operation. His small eye hung from the socket, I therefore determined to manœuvre on his blind side, and ply him well with lead.

I had fought him for an hour and a half. Now, a scorching sun and a fast, under such circumstances, are *rather* trying; indeed, I had almost had enough of it, and began devoutly to wish that the beast would either take to his heels, or allow me to take to mine. The brute, unfortunately was in no such humour. It is a notorious fact, that when two wild elephants meet in a musth state, they never separate till one of them is destroyed. Their fight sometimes lasts a week, when the one which physically possesses the greatest capacity for fasting will destroy the other. Large male carcasses are thus frequently discovered by the elephant catchers, and their tusks are turned to a profitable account.

I was now greatly exhausted and blown, retreating after every shot to a fresh tree, the elephant invariably following me up. In a hurry I took up a position behind a tree which I should not have selected had I not been so fatigued. My opponent being from his wounds slow in pursuit enabled me to recover my wind,

and while doing so it struck me I had occupied a bad position, the tree not being much thicker than my body. I immediately retreated to another tree a few yards off, affording much better cover, and fortunate it was I did so, for I had barely taken up my new ground when the elephant again commenced hunting me up, and when within four yards of the tree I had just quitted, he stopped, and putting his trunk out, after clearing it and scenting for some minutes made a terrific rush. But this was fortunately nearly his last. On coming up to the tree he made sure I was behind it, and encircling it with his trunk he endeavoured to break it down. Failing in this, he half leaned, but in a very exhausted state, against the tree, and after two more efforts tore it up by the roots and cast it down. Evidently making sure that I was under it, he now knelt down and commenced driving his tusks into both sides of the tree, flattering himself that he was probing my carcass. I was only a few yards from him during this operation. Having considerably

revived, I determined upon acknowledging his good intentions. Stepping from behind the tree I had occupied whilst he was employed in his humane undertaking, I fired four shots successively into his forehead, which, however, stunned him. On reviving, he stuck his tusks heavily into the ground, and remained motionless for some minutes. I began to hope he was dead, and retreated to another position to reload.

My mouth was in a fearful state from thirst, my lips and tongue so cracked and parched, that they were bleeding profusely. The monster, to my disgust, again got up, but now very weak, and rolling about as if he had been indulging, *ad libitum*, in gin and leaden bitters. He staggered back with some difficulty, reached a tree, which he leant against. Jack now, for the first time during the encounter, spoke, or rather shouted, "By gar, Captin, him going." I began to think so, and stepped out to within three yards of him. He made two very drunken attempts to come at me, and I plied him well

with lead, so that he again reeled up against the tree. I retreated to re-load and had barely done so, when, to my great annoyance, I saw him moving again towards me, but now very feebly. He could hardly walk. I fired another shot at him, when he stopped, staggered, quietly drew his hind legs under him, then his fore, dropped his head heavily, and drove his tusks up to the roots in the ground, and then remained motionless. After waiting a quarter of an hour at least, during which time he never moved, we all agreed he was dead, and I proposed that Jack should go and ascertain the fact. To this Jack strongly objected. I then moved up and fired at the monster. The shot did not disturb him.

We now moved out, as I was convinced he was gone, and going some distance round we came up in his rear. I again proposed that Jack should go and pull his tail to ascertain if he was dead or merely feigning; Jack demurred, however, at this. I promised, however, to stand by him and protect him. He

then declared that he, Jack, had been dead himself, at least six times during the encounter; and that if I wanted to kill him outright, I had better shoot him at once. After some trouble, I persuaded him to follow me, and on going within five yards of the elephant's rear, I took a clot of earth and threw it at him. I then again proposed that, to make all safe, Jack should pull his tail. Jack continued his opposition, but as I knew there was no danger, and only wished to get a gallop out of him after the excited state he had been in for some hours, I urged his obedience. Jack now became desperate, going sideways towards the elephant's tail, and when within pulling distance, turning his head away, laying hold of it—giving it a pull, and then bolting as if he had a Congreve in his trowsers. After this feat, Jack never stopped until he had placed two hundred yards between himself and the dead elephant, when he gallantly faced about and finding he was not pursued, came back as fast as he could, entering immediately on his return into the

pedigree of the deceased elephant, and favouring its mother and sisters with numerous epithets unfit for ears polite.

Thus died the savage Shikar Bassa elephant, for ten years the terror of that part of the Nepaul forest, and for six months his carcass, despite the zeal and energy of vultures and jackalls, afforded the villagers olfactory testimony that his remains were exceedingly disagreeable.

For killing this elephant I was presented in open Durbar, by the Rajah and heir apparent, with a handsome Khillut, or dress of honour, which was of great value, but which, of course, I was obliged, after wearing a few hours, to make over to the British Treasury in Nepaul, where all presents, according to the invariable custom at every British Residency, are annually sold, and the proceeds placed to the credit of the Treasury.

Amongst the animals who infest the forests of Nepaul, are one of the largest of the wild ox tribe known, measuring at the shoulder from eighteen to twenty hands and of great power.

The bull is a very ferocious animal, it is called by the Nepaulese the Ghowrie Ghai. The body is of a brownish blue colour to the knee, and from that to the hoof white, with a very formidable pair of horns, about two feet long, and of about eighteen inches in diameter at the roots. It is strongly allied in my opinion to the musk-ox of South America. From the root of the horns to the back of the neck, a strong oily substance is emitted with a very powerful musky smell. A more formidable animal than the bull there is not to be found in the Nepaul forests; no tiger dares to approach a full grown one, and two of them have been known to drive off a rhinoceros. The Nepaulese, being Hindoos, venerate this animal although they do not actually worship it; and they have a great horror of any one destroying him. I, unfortunately, while on a sporting tour in their forests and accompanied by one of the mission lately in England, Kajee Delhi Sing, very suddenly came upon a large bull, who as quickly prepared to attack me. Delhi Sing appeared

horror stricken and entreated for his sake, and that of Nepaul, that I would not shed the blood of a descendant of a cow, for he assured me, I should never be able to kill him. Knowing their prejudices and wishing to humour him, I assured him I would not molest the son of a cow provided he would let me pass unmolested, which I pointed out to him he appeared in no humour to do, as he was bellowing and tearing up the ground at an awful rate. Delhi Sing then entreated me to run away; to this I would not consent, for in the first place I had no inclination, and in the second place being on foot I knew that flight would involve certain destruction. Delhi Sing determined, however, to shew me the way, and off he bolted, with the enraged bull after him. I immediately laid my rifle on the bull, and struck him well at the back of the shoulder, when over he rolled as dead as a stone.

The chiefs returned to me shortly afterwards, and expressed their great horror at what had occurred, assuring me something very dreadful

would befall me for destroying the animal; Delhi Sing, alone appeared satisfied at his narrow escape. The chiefs were still further greatly shocked on learning two days afterwards that I highly approved of a rump steak from the brute. I may here mention another anecdote of the animal's ferocity. Mr. B. Hodgson, the late Resident, at this Court, although not a practical sportsman, had five native keepers in his pay for the purpose of taming for him good zoological specimens. One of these fellows by the name of Prem, was induced, after much persuasion and the promise of a handsome reward, to go down to the forest, and endeavour to shoot a bull. Being a low caste man (a Chumar), he had no compunctions, and having been well found in ammunition and well primed with brandy, away he went, and the first evening of his arrival, he came upon a small herd with only one bull in sight. Thinking a cow the much safer of the two to encounter, he fired at and wounded one, when to his surprise down came the bull to the charge,

and up a tree bolted Prem, where he was kept the whole of the night, and the greater part of the following day by the bull, who steadily mounted guard under the tree. Thirst at last compelled the bull to drink, when down slipt poor Prem more dead than alive, leaving his gun and ammunition behind him, and never stopping until he got to the Presidency at Khatmandoo some forty miles distant; when he informed Mr. Hodgson of his adventure and narrow escape, vowing that nothing should ever induce him, again to go in search of the Ghowrie Ghai. He added that he far preferred skinning and stuffing to such a mission, and that the bull during the greater part of the night, in his rage at not being able to get hold of him, snorted fire and brimstone out of his nostrils to such an extent, that he nearly smoked him out of the tree. We, of course, had a hearty laugh at the latter part of this story. Prem, however, religiously kept his vow, and invariably refused to accompany me, even after I had killed several, alledging that he was a marked man among the bulls.

Bears are found both in the Nepaul forests and on the hills in great numbers; but I should be almost afraid to commit to paper, the numbers I have killed there, and the encounters and narrow escapes I have had. In many parts of the hills, particularly in the snow, the beautiful musk-deer is found, the privilege of destroying which is monopolized by the Durbar; a certain number of men being appointed annually for that purpose. A description of this curious little animal, and his habits may be interesting. The musk-deer, called in Nepaul Kustoora, is in size about as long as a small gazelle, beautifully formed, very active, and graceful in all its movements, and particularly shy. It inhabits all the most unfrequented parts of the hills, the male being much sought after for the musk-bag, which lies near the navel and is about the size of an egg. This musk is found only in the male deer, and, unless cut off before the animal is dead, the whole is absorbed in the system, and the pod becomes useless. They are therefore almost invariably taken by nooses.

The natives have many curious traditions

regarding this deer, especially as to the manner of the generation of the musk pod. The musk-deer, although one of the most timid and harmless, is at the same time one of the most deadly enemies the viper and adder have in the hills, and its mode of destroying them is curious. The ground on which the musk-deer are generally found, contains likewise large numbers of the small hill-adder, a reptile little more than eighteen inches long, but very venomous. It throws itself in the way of man or beast, and invariably bites them. The musk-deer, however, seek for and destroy the adders, wherever they find them, in the following manner. The deers travel generally in pairs; the first that discovers an adder, gives a sharp snort through the nostril, when the other deer immediately comes to its side. The two now commence a series of the most eccentric gambols, jumping and skipping about, over each other's backs, and running round the viper in a circle (I may here mention that the inner hoof of the musk-deer is black and hard, and as sharp as a knife),

and after jumping over the adder for five or six minutes, the male strikes it with the fore-foot so rapidly, that the eye cannot follow it, and the adder is thereby immediately destroyed. He then, with two blows, severs the head from the body, after which he displays his triumph and satisfaction by a series of gambols round and over the dead adder and then lies down. On these occasions the musk-deer is invariably followed by a large buzzard or kite, who, as soon as the deer lies down, flies to and carries off the headless body of the dead adder to the nearest rock and there devours it. The charge of carnivorousness, laid to the poor musk by the ignorant natives, is thus accounted for and removed. I may add that the favourite food of the musk-deer is a bulbous kind of wild garlic, for the digging up of which nature has provided the male with two small tusks in the upper jaw, about three inches long, and of the thickness of a common quill; with these he digs up the bulb, which smells as powerfully, when fresh, as the strongest musk, and from

this food undoubtedly the glutinous and musky matter contained in the bag of the deer is generated.

The next animal to be found in the Nepaul hills worthy of description is the Dhole or wild-dog. These animals are found in packs varying from fifty to two hundred, and the havoc committed by them among the flocks of sheep and hill-cattle is incredible. Their destruction of deer also is immense, and their mode of doing so may be worthy of mention. In size the wild-dog is little larger than the common jackal of India, but longer in the body and possessing much greater power, with a very formidable set of jaws—colour, a rich reddish-brown, with scenting qualities of the highest order.

Soon after nightfall the pack assemble at a given cry, when they disperse in threes and fours in search of game. The first party that hit off the trail, open, when the whole pack rush to them, and when all are assembled fasten to the trail and off they go. The deer

soon become alarmed and double, when the pack immediately tell off in parties, each one rushing to the different passes for which deer are known to make, and on the deer attempting to pass either, he is immediately seized by the party, who utter a simultaneous cry, and the whole pack then rush in and the deer is at once devoured. Fresh game is next sought, and in the same way destroyed, and this species of hunting is continued according to the size of pack, till all their appetites are appeased, when they retire to their almost inaccessible fastnesses in the rocks, and remain for three or four days, until hunger again drives them forth on another excursion.

From their destructive qualities, the wild-dogs hardly ever remain longer than a month in the same locality, having in that time effectually scared away all the deer for miles round. I never knew them to attack man, and even when severely wounded they will only snap at you after the manner of a wounded jackal. When deer are not procurable, they will attack even

bears, an instance of which I will here record. In the adventure, such as it was, I had the advantage of the society of two gentlemen then travelling through India for their amusement. One of them (now an M.P. and who will doubtless remember the circumstance,) did me the honour to share the rough hospitalities of my sporting box at Budraj in the hills. My keepers, one morning brought intelligence that there had been a considerable row all night at the foot of a hill some few miles off, the exact cause of which they could not account for, but that it was certain a noted bear, whose vocal powers they were well acquainted with, was a leading party in the tumult, and had evidently got into trouble. We immediately got every thing ready and started, and on getting within a quarter of a mile of the place, distinctly heard a very considerable uproar, in which Bruin was taking a leading part. My friends, from having been only a short time in the hills, knew not what to make of the noise, but seventeen years of sporting practice in those hills, soon told me what

was the matter, although I will confess I never had previously caught the parties engaged as they now were. It was agreed that I should precede my associates, and ascertain the position of the tumultuous pack and how to get at them. This I did, taking with me two of my favourite keepers. On cautiously descending, and getting within two hundred yards of the locality of the noise, I witnessed a scene I shall never forget. There was Bruin standing up on his hind legs against a large tree, foaming with rage and exhaustion, tearing down large branches and pitching them right and left. Surrounding him were sixteen or seventeen wild-dogs, baying and snapping at him. Poor Bruin's breeches afforded evident proof that the dogs had not been idle. The bear was nearly exhausted, and certainly could not have held out an hour longer. I therefore determined on cautiously returning and informing my friends of what was going on. On doing so and reconnoitering still further, it was ascertained that not more than two or three persons could approach the combatants

again without disturbing them; and a couple of wild dogs under such circumstances being anxiously wished for, and my rifle being known to rarely, if ever, miss its object, it was proposed that I should again go alone accompanied by my two keepers.

Approaching the party once more very cautiously, and getting within two hundred yards of them, I found the wild-dogs had not been idle during the twenty minutes of my absence. The bear was now sitting down on his torn and disfigured breech, making awful faces, and roaring hideously. My rifle was soon at my shoulder, and over rolled two wild-dogs to my right and left barrel, and away scampered the rest of the pack. On descending I found Bruin incapable of moving from the spot. He seemed almost inclined to welcome my appearance, but one of my keepers, a wicked rascal called "Bucktoo," threw a stone at him, upon which he tried to charge us, and I was obliged to put a stop to his intentions by shooting him dead. On examining him, I

found his hind quarters sadly disfigured, and his skin so much torn, as to render it unfit for anything but a memento of the occurrence.

I have said above that the fish in the Nepaul rivers is abundant. The principal kind which inhabits the Raptee, is the sehr, a fish much resesembling the roach and greatly esteemed, and the gaoleer or trout. The manner of fishing may be described in a very few words. The channel of the river is intersected by seven or eight casting nets, united together by being hooked at their extremities to poles, or sticks erected in the water for that purpose. To each net there is a man or boy, who has a second net fixed to his waist and hanging behind him, in which he deposits the fish he catches. This he does by diving. The fishermen dive head foremost, though in water not deeper than their middle, throwing up their feet nearly quite erect, and seizing the fish either with their teeth or their hands. After remaining some time at a particular spot, all the nets are dragged together further down the stream, when the fishermen renew their operations.

These being over, they draw the casting nets separately; some of which, as well as those round their waists, are often quite full. In the river Tadi, which, augmented by the waters of the Sindoora and Bailhote rivulets, winds round the south point of the Chardi-baisi hill, there are eels of a very large size, and of excellent flavour. The usla, a fish not unlike the British salmon in taste, is also found in the Tadi, and the phaketa abounds in the stream. The phaketa is a species of small fish, remarkable both for the swiftness with which it glides through the water, and the singular construction of its superior fins, which resemble a fan both in form and in the manner in which they open and close.

Of the entomological tribe of Nepaul, nothing need be said. The insects and reptiles correspond with all those of Hindostan; the only exception being the bee, which is numerous in the valley, providing excellent honey, and supplying the wax which forms so important an article of commerce.

CHAPTER V.

THE INHABITANTS OF NEPAUL, ESPECIALLY THE MILITARY TRIBES.

THE inhabitants of Nepaul consist chiefly of Brahmins and Ketries, with their various subdivisions of Newars, Dherwars, Mhargies, Bhootias, and Bhamas. The former of these compose the army, engross all situations of trust, whether civil or military, and are dispersed promiscuously throughout the country. The Newars are confined almost to the valley of Nepaul. The Dherwars and Mhargies are the husbandmen and fishers of the western districts; and the Bhootias, though some families of them

are planted in the lower lands, occupy, generally speaking, such parts of the Kachâr as are included in the Nepaul territories. The Bhamas are a sort of separatists from the Newars, supposed to amount to five thousand; they shave their heads like the Bhootias, observe many of the religious rites, as well as civil costume of their idolaters, in a dialect of whose language they are said to preserve their sacred writings. To the eastward of Nepaul some districts are inhabited by Limboos, Naggunkotes, and others.

The Newars are divided into several casts or orders, most of which derive their origin, like those among the more ancient Hindoos, from a primitive classification, according to trades and occupations.

The peasantry of the Parbattiahs, or hill-people, are divided into four classes, denominated Onwals, Doems, Scoons, and Chaurems. These are Persian terms, and denote first, second, third, and fourth. The Onwals are those peasants who possess five ploughs and upwards; the Doems, such as have from one

to five; the Scooms are those whom, without being proprietors of ploughs, are considered to be at the head of a few or more labourers; and the lands of Nepaul proper are cultivated, almost without exception, by Newars; those to the westward, as Noorkale, &c., by the Parbatty tribe, called Dherwara.

The Ryots or peasantry are distinguished also into Koohrya and Perjà. The former are those settled in Bertha proprietory, or other rent-free lands, and are not liable to be called on by government for any services, except the repair of roads, and attendance in the army upon particular occasions. The Perjàs, who occupy lands actually belonging to the Prince, though perhaps in the immediate possession of Jagheerdars, are, on the contrary, obliged to perform various services, both at the call of the Jagheerdar and of the Prince.

The great aboriginal stock of the inhabitants of the mountains, east of the river Kâli, as in Nepaul, is Mongol. The fact is inscribed, in characters so plain, upon their faces, forms, and

languages, that we may well dispense with the superfluous and vain attempt to trace it historically in the meagre chronicles of barbarians.

But, from the twelfth century downwards, the tide of Mussulman conquest and bigotry continued to sweep multitudes of the Brahmins of the plains from Hindostan into the proximate hills, which now compose the western territories of the kingdom of Nepaul. There the Brahmins soon located themselves; they found the natives illiterate, and without faith, but fierce and proud.

Their object was to make them converts to Hindooism, and so to confirm the fleeting influence derived from their learning and politeness. They saw that the barbarians had vacant minds, ready to receive their doctrines, but spirits not apt to stoop to degradation; and they acted accordingly. To the earliest and most distinguished of their converts they communicated, in defiance of the creed they taught, the lofty rank and honours of the Kshatriya order. But the Brahmins had sensual passions

to gratify, as well as ambition. They found the native females, even the most distinguished, nothing loath—but still of a temper, like that of the males, prompt to repel indignities.

These females would, indeed, welcome the polished Brahmins to their embraces; but their offspring must not be stigmatised as the infamous progeny of a Brahmin, and a Mlechha must, on the contrary, be raised to eminence in the new order of things introduced by their fathers. To this progeny also, then, the Brahmins, in still greater defiance of their creed, communicated the rank of the second order of Hindooism; and from these two roots, mainly, sprang the now numerous, predominant, and extensively ramified tribe of the Khás, originally the name of a small clan of creedless barbarians, now the proud title of the Kshatriya, or military order of the kingdom of Nepaul. The offspring of original Khás females and of Brahmins, with the honours and rank of the second order of Hindooism, obtained the patronymic titles of the first order; and hence the key to the

anomalous nomenclature of so many stripes of the military tribes of Nepaul, is to be sought in the nomenclature of the sacred order.

It may be added, as remarkably illustrative of the lofty spirit of the Parbattiahs, that in spite of the yearly increasing sway of Hindooism in Nepaul, and of the various attempts of Brahmins in high places to procure the abolition of a custom so radically opposed to the creed both parties now profess, the Khás still insist that the fruit of commerce (marriage is out of the question), between their females and males of the sacred order shall be ranked as Kshatriyas, wear the thread, and assume the patronymic title.

The original Khás, thus favoured by it, became soon entirely devoted to the Brahminical system. The progress of Islam below, daily poured fresh refugees among them. They availed themselves of the superior knowledge of the strangers, to subdue the neighbouring tribes of aborigines, were successful beyond their hopes, and in such a career, continuing for

ages, gradually merged the greater part of their own habits, ideas, and language (but not physiognomy), in those of the Hindoos. The Khás language became a corrupt dialect of Hindee, retaining not many palpable traces (except to curious eyes), of primitive barbarism.

The Elthariahs are the descendants, more or less pure, of Rájpoots and other Kshatriyas of the plains, who sought refuge in these mountains from the Moslem, or merely military service, as adventurers. With fewer aims of policy and readier means in their bright swords, of requiting the protection afforded them than had the Brahmins, they had less motive to mix their proud blood with that of the vile aborigines than the Brahmins felt the impulse of, and they did mix it less. Hence, to this hour, they claim a vague superiority over the Khás, notwithstanding that the pressure of the great tide of events around them has, long since, confounded the two races in all essentials. Those among the Kshatriyas of the plains, who

were more lax, and allied themselves with the Khás females in concubinage, were permitted to give to their children, so begotten, the patronymic title only, not the rank. But their children again, if they married for two generations into the Khás, became pure Khás, or real Kshatriyas, in point of privilege and rank, though no longer so in name. They were Khás, not Kshatriyas; and yet they bore the proud cognomina of the martial order of the Hindoos, and were in the land of their nativity, entitled to every prerogative which Kshatriya birth confers in Hindoostan. Such is the third and less fruitful root of the Khás race. The Elthariahs speak the Khás language, and they speak no other.

The Thâkuris differ from the Elthariahs, only by the accidental circumstance of their lineage being royal. At some former period, and in some little state or other, their progenitors were princes.

The remaining military tribes of the Parbattiahs are the Nagar and Gurûng, who now

upply numbers of the soldiers of that state. From lending themselves less early and heartily o Brahminical influence than the Khás, they have retained, in vivid freshness, their original languages, physiognomy, and, in a less degree, habits. To their own untaught ears, their languages differ entirely the one from the other; but, in very truth, only as remote lialects of one great tongue, the type of which is the language of Tibet. Their physiognomies, too, have peculiarities proper to each, but with the general Calmuk caste and character in both. The Gurûngs are less generally and more recently redeemed from Lamaism and primitive impurity than the Magars.

But, though both Gurûngs and Magars still maintain their own vernacular tongues, Tartar faces, and careless manners; yet, what with military service for several generations, under the predominant Khás, and what with their commerce of Khás males with their females, they have acquired the Khás language, though not to the oblivion of their own; and the Khás

habits and sentiments, but with sundry reservations in favour of pristine liberty. As they have, however, with such grace as they could muster, submitted themselves to the ceremonial law of purity, and to Brahmin supremacy, they have been adopted as Hindoos.

But partly owing to the licenses above glanced at, and partly by reason of the necessity of distinctions of casts to Hindooism, they have been denied the thread, and constituted a doubtful order below it, and yet not Vaisya nor Sudra, but a something superior to both the latter, which it might puzzle the Shastras to explain on Hindoo principles.

The Brahmins of Nepaul are much less generally addicted to arms than those of the plains; and they do not, therefore, properly belong to our present subject. The enumeration of the Brahmins is nevertheless necessary, as serving to elucidate the lineage and connection of the military tribes, and especially of the Khás.

The martial classes of Nepaul are, then, the

Khás, Magar, and Gurûng; each comprising a very numerous clan or race, variously ramified and subdivided.

The original seat of the Khás is ordinarily said to be Goorkha, because it was thence immediately that they issued, seventy years ago, under the guidance of Prithi Narayan, to acquire the fame and dominion achieved by him and his successors of the Goorkhali dynasty. But the Khás were, long previously to the age of Prithi Narayan, extensively spread over the whole of the Choubésya; and they are now found in every part of the existing kingdom of Nepaul. The Khás are rather more devoted to the house of Goorkha, as well as more liable to Brahminical prejudice than the Margarsar Gurûngs; and, on both accounts, are somewhat less desirable as soldiers for our service than the latter tribes. I say somewhat, because it is a mere question of degree; the Khás having, certainly, no religious prejudices, nor probably any national partialities, which would prevent their making excellent and faithful servants in

arms; and they possess permanently that masculine energy of character, and love of enterprise, which distinguishes so advantageously all the military races of Nepaul.

The original seat of the Magars is the Bara Mangrouth, or Satahung, Payung, Bhirkot, Dhar, Garahung, Rising, Ghiring, Gulmi, Argha, Khache, Musikot, and Isma; in other words, most of the central and lower parts of the mountains between the Bhêre and Marsyánde rivers. The attachment of the Magars to the house of Goorkha is but recent, and of no extraordinary or intimate nature. Still less so is that of the Gurûngs, whose native seats occupy a line of country parallel to that of the Magars, to the north of it, and extending to snows in that direction. Modern events have spread the Magars and Gurûngs over the most part of the present kingdom of Nepaul. The Gurûngs and Magars are, in the main, Hindoos, only because it is the fashion; and the Hindooism of the Khás, in all practical and soldierly respects, is free of disqualifying punctilio.

These highland soldiers, who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face, and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of our Sepoys who must bathe from head to foot, and make Pooja (or worship) ere they begin to dress their dinner, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching time again in less than three hours. In war, the former readily carry several days' provisions on their backs; the latter would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing but the prospect of glory and spoil: the latter can discover in it nothing but pollution and peril from unclean men, and terrible wizards, goblins, and evil spirits. In masses, the former have all that indomitable confidence, each and all, which grows out of national integrity and success: the latter can have no idea of sentiment, which maintains the union and resolution of multitudes in peril, better than all other human bonds whatever.

It has been calculated that there are at this

time in Nepaul no less than thirty thousand Dakhriahs, or soldiers off the roll by rotation, belonging to the above three tribes. There does not exist any insuperable obstacle to our obtaining, in one form or other, the services of a large body of these men; and such are their energy of character, love of enterprise, and freedom from the shackles of caste, that their services, if once obtained, would soon come to be most highly prized.

In the opinion of competent judges, they are by far the best soldiers in India; and if they were made participators of our own renown in arms, their gallant spirit and unadulterated military habits might be relied on for fidelity; and our good and regular pay, and noble pension-establishment would serve to counterpoise the influnce of nationality, especially in the Magars and Gurûngs.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS—CUSTOMS—LAWS.

NEPAUL having been ruled for many centuries past by Rypoot juries, and the various classes of Hindoos appearing, in all periods, to have composed a great portion of its population; it is natural to expect a great resemblance in manners and customs between this part of its inhabitants and the kindred sects of the adjacent countries. In one essential particular, however, these mountaineers are prominently discriminated, and that is, by a simplicity of character invariably observable amongst them. This feature is attributable to the Nepaulese, either from their secluded situations or some

other still more operative cause; yet the simplicity which distinguishes these people, manifests itself no less in the higher than in the lower ranks of life. It appears in public and in private life without ostentation or parade, and is accompanied by a plainness and serenity of deportment, and probably by an ntegrity of conduct, not commonly met with among their more polished or opulent brethren.

Between the Newars and the Hindoos of Nepaul, a similarity subsists, as well in character, customs, manners, and features, as in religious rites; and the Punchayat system, so universal in India, is in vogue in Nepaul. The Punchayats in use are of two kinds, domestic and public; the latter being called upon to settle suits before the courts, the former to settle matters never brought under the court's cognizance.

Domestic Punchayats are very popular, especially among merchants, whose wealth attracts the cupidity of the courts, and the community of whom can, on the other hand, always furnish intelligent referees or Punchmen. To

the public Punchayat all matters may be referred (with the exception of cases of life destroyed), at the discretion of the courts, or at the desire of the parties: but cases of battery and assault are not usually referred to these tribunals.

The Punchmen are appointed by the Dilha (presiding judge of the court), at the solicitation of the parties, with whom solely the selection lies. After selection by the parties, the Dilha takes from them an obligation to abide by the award of the Punchayat. The court, or government, never appoint Punchayats of their own nation, except when men of note are accused, or if parties expressly solicit it by petition to the government; but no man can sit on a Punchayat without the assent of both parties. A Punchayat of this sort often acts the part of a jury when men of note are accused, the government nominating the Punchmen. In civil actions, too, the parties, tired of litigating, will sometimes desire the court or government to nominate a Punchayat to hear and decide with-

out appeal. Ordinarily Punchayats are chosen purely by the parties, and half the judicial business of the kingdom is performed by them to the satisfaction alike of the parties, the public, and the government. The function of the Punchmen appears to be essentially that of jurors: they find the verdict, and the court, out of which they issue, and in which they assemble, merely enforces their finding. When needless delay occurs, the matter is taken out of the hands of the Punchayat, and decided by the court. The Punchayat has no power of its own to summon or enforce the attendance of any person, or to make an unwilling witness depose, or to secure the production of necessary papers; all such executive aid being afforded by the court appointing it. The assumption of any power of their own by the Punchayat would be a grave offence. The Punch are required to be unanimous: such, at least, is the rule; but a very large majority will suffice in certain cases. They receive no compensation for travelling expenses, or loss of time, on any account what-

ever: indeed, the very idea of compensating them is abhorred.

The popular religion of Nepaul differs in nothing from the Hindooism of Bengal and other parts of India, except so far as the secluded nature of the country might have preserved it in a state of superior orthodoxy and purity.

There are in all twenty temples, viz., Pusputnath, Chauko Nerain, Bhujjerjoagni or Bhudderjoagni, Tillyejoo or Tullejoo, Dukheen Kali, Jagaisher, Seeker Nerain, Mutchendernath, Toolaja Bhuwani, Bishenath, Gooshja Kali, Gorukhnath, Chundaisseri, Bhugowty, Sheepadhol, Bheem Séin, Bhauda, Dhoomja, Koossaisur, and Goorkha Munkamana.

The following is a list of the principal festivals:

Chownsuthi jatra.
Koond jatra.
Bhagmutty jatra.
Bishenmatty jatra.
Munmutty jatra.

Roodemutty jatra.
Sunnaish jatra.
Bhogowty jatra.
Jakhri jatra.
Indra jatra.
Sersutty jatra.
Mutchender jatra.
Bhoagnath jatra.
Bhyroo jatra.
Pustanmook.

In addition to these, and some others not named, there is a grand festival occasionally observed, which lasts four months. It consists in visiting the shrines of all the gods in Nepaul, said to be in number 2,733.

Proselytism has not made much way within the Nepaulese dominions, but the Newar families, who have permanently settled in Thibet as traders, have embraced Christianity, as practised among the Thibetans. Catholicism is the form of their Christianity. Near Digarchee and Lassa, or Thibet, there are

several very old Catholic churches, but the date of their establishment has not been very clearly ascertained.

The trade of Nepaul is by no means so extensive or consequently so beneficial to its government and inhabitants as under proper regulations it would become. The channel of Nepaul offers inducements for an extensive trade between Thibet and the Company's dominions, highly beneficial both to the government of Nepaul and to the commercial interest of the English nation. The following are the principal exports: elephants, elephants' teeth, rice, timber, hides, ginger, kuth or terra Japonica, turmeric, wax, honey, behrozeh or pure resin, walnuts, oranges, long pepper, long pepper root, gheei tugh, tajpat, large cardamums, raal or dammer, lamp oil, cotton, Tangans and small Turk horses of Laddakh, and other northern parts of Thibet, sheep, shawl goats, Chowri bullocks, musk-deer, dogs, falcons, pheasants, chuckoars or fire-eaters; gold in dust, grains, and small lumps; borax, salt, sulphur, antimony, arsenic,

orpiment, musk, chownries or cowtails, rugs or coarse blankets, munjheet, cheraita, raw lac, cherries, bikma, jaithamasi, and various other medicinal drugs. The imports comprise doputtahs, saries, dhoties, kim khaub, gool budduns, phoolams, mushroos, oornies, taffetas, buftas, cossahs, dooreas, chintz, mulmuls, broad cloth, shawls, jemawar shawl pieces, shawl ruzzies, raw silk, gold and silver laces, carpets, English cutlery of sorts, saffron, cloves, mace, nutmegs, Guzerat cardamums, black pepper, betle-nuts, red sandal wood, white sandal wood, alum, vermilion, quicksilver, shell lac, red wood, krypas, tin, zinc, lead, soap, camphire, red pepper or chilly, conch shells, Oude billah, tobacco and coral.

The manufactures consist principally of coarse cloth, iron, copper, and brass utensils and ornaments, cutlery, bells, spirituous liquors, salt, and saltpetre.

The currency of Nepaul consists principally of silver pieces of eight annas. There are also some of sixteen annas struck, called siccas, but

their circulation is confined to Nepaul Proper, and is far from being common even there. The sicca has indeed been known in this country since the time of Prithee Nurayun. Besides the preceding coins, there is one of the value of the 288th part of a sicca, called a maduch. This piece is not in ordinary or general use, any more than the minute gold coins which are sometimes struck at the mint of Khatmandoo. Even the ushrufii or gold rupee may be considered rather as a medal than a current coin. The silver eight-anna piece is termed "mohur" and "uddhailee." The copper coins are called chadams, dodams, &c.; thirty-six of the former usually go to the mohur or eight-anna piece.

The language principally spoken by the Nepaulese is called the Goorkhallee; but it is, in point of fact, a corrupt dialect, like the Hindostannee. The other vernacular languages are the Parbuttee, the Newar, the Nagur, the Dhemvur, the Muggur, the Kirranti, the Howas or Hyoo, the Limboo, and the Bhootra. The

Sanscrit is considerably cultivated by the Brahmins only.

The only instrument is the plough, which is scarcely known among the Newars; only a few of those occupying the lands about Thankote employ it. Their prejudice against the use of it, would seem to have originated in the extraordinary reverence entertained by the people for the bullock. Since, though they have no scruples with regard to buffaloes, they deem it the highest sacrilege to approach even the image of a bullock, except in a posture of adoration; insomuch that a malicious person wishing to suspend the agricultural operations of his neighbour, would be sure to effect his purpose by placing a stone or wooden figure of a cow in the midst of his fields.

In person the Nepaulese are in general of middle size, all head, shoulders and chest, very stout limbs, round and rather flat faces, small eyes, low and somewhat spreading noses, and open and cheerful countenances. The Nepaulese of the plains are peaceable, industrious and

ingenious, greatly attached to the superstitions they profess, and tolerably reconciled to their lot. They are courageous, capable of very great labour, and besides, being chiefly agriculturists, they almost exclusively cultivate all the arts and manufactures known to India, their powers of imitation in manufactures, especially in that of arms, and all vessels and ornaments of gold, silver, &c., being very superior. As the country produces good iron, they are able to manufacture excellent steel; indeed the blade of the kookery, or war-knife, of the Goorkha is unequalled for its temper and keen edge.

All their artillery are cast of brass: they have several 12-pounders. They perfectly understand melting copper, tin, and zinc together, also the proportions for making brass. They are moreover celebrated for their bell metal: some of their gongs, for instance, would be highly prized in many a nobleman's domain; and a few of these at the Great Exhibition last year, were much admired, and doubtless ensured

many orders for the gong manufacturers in Khatmandoo. For the same great occasion, specimens of some of the beautiful furs, monthly obtainable in Khatmandoo, from Lassa and Digurchee, in Thibet, might be imported. These two large cities are great fur depôts: they are only forty marches from Khatmandoo. It is, however, deserving of consideration, whether by encouraging a direct fur trade, we should not be unintentionally giving *offence to Russia*, for a very large portion of the Russian fur trade is derived from this part of Thibet, and certainly by far the most valuable furs are obtained there. I have seen some of the most beautiful dresses made of furs brought by the native merchants from these cities; and I once purchased from one of them a fur cloak with thick silk lining for one hundred and fifty Moree rupees, in English money little more than ten pounds. A few enterprising English merchants (the Nepaul restrictions on commerce being removed, and protection from plunder and extortion guaran-

teed) would very soon ensure the whole of the Thibetan trade being drawn to Calcutta, which, I have before mentioned, is only two hundred miles from the Nepaul frontier, with water carriage from the foot of the hills. The transaction might also lead to a most desirable object, viz., the diverting the attention of the Nepaulese from their ruling idea, that they are strictly a military nation. They have, singularly enough, retained this notion during upwards of thirty years' peace.

A striking proof of the military propensities of the Nepaulese is to be found in the eagerness with which they rush into the army. In the annual enrolment of the soldiers required for the peace establishment of Nepaul, those who are required to serve, instead of receiving bounty for enlistment actually *pay* sums to be entertained, varying according to their means, from thirty to sixty Moree rupees. Their pay is very small—in some regiments only four Moree rupees per month, being just three Company's rupees, or six shillings British money. In this

way, the whole population of Nepaul in seven years learns more or less of the duties of a soldier. The standing army amounts in peace to about sixteen thousand men per annum, ergo, on the annual enrolment plan, one hundred and twelve thousand men in seven years would have learnt at least the use of the musket, with a few notions of marching and counter-marching, forming square, column, quarter distance, and marching past by companies in review, which is the fullest extent of all the manœuvres I ever saw them practise on parade. Their instructors take it for granted they are good marksmen for no powder or ball is ever expended on target practice.

It may not be out of place to say something of the laws of Nepaul, and the way in which they are administered. The laws for political offences depend entirely upon the strength or weakness of the party they are enforced against; and his guilt or innocence depends upon the faction in power. I was much amused one day by being seriously informed by one of the

high priests of Nepaul and an ex-minister, the late Gooroo, Rugnauth Pundit, that it was thus written in a very old Hindoo work in his possession, and of the truth of which he said I was aware, "That those seeking for learning should go to Benares—those seeking for *justice* should go to Nepaul, or rather Goorkha, which is fifty miles farther north." My own impression, although I did not tell the learned priest so, was—"You might seek it, possibly find it, but it would be a very dangerous experiment."

One of their laws regarding adultery, is not only a very summary one, but often very gratifying to the feelings of an injured husband. Should such a crime be perpetrated, as it often is during the absence of the husband, and be detected, he, on his return, is duly informed of the stain on his honour, and is an outcast until the stain be removed. He is neither permitted to eat with, smoke with, nor even visit, his friends and relations, until he has avenged the disgrace. He accordingly sets

to work immediately; but as the seducer, on the return of the husband, contrives to make himself scarce, the injured man has to await patiently his return, or the opportunity of meeting him. In this way sometimes years are spent. At length, perhaps, the wished-for moment arrives. The wronged husband waylays his dishonourer; steals up to him as he would to a deer; quietly draws his kookery, rushes behind him, and with one blow severs his head from his body. Justice is now done; his honour is avenged; and he is admitted to caste. One little trifle alone remains; he has to cut his wife's nose off, which is soon done, to prevent any one falling in love with her again.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF NEPAUL.

It would be vain to attempt to produce, from the confused and contradictory documents available to us, anything like consistent relations of the theory and gradations by which the Goorkhas (the aboriginal inhabitants of Goorkhaina, a mountain city in Nepaul, in Lat. 27 52 N. Long. 84 2 2 E.) rose to power, in the hilly tract stretching between the plains of Hindostan and the highlands of Tartary and Thibet. Still less competent are we to trace the history of Nepaul *anterior* to the conquest, which changed the character of the

country and materially enlarged its political dimensions. Let us be satisfied with a rough sketch of the rise and progress of Nepaul from the year 1760 and thereabouts.

For a considerable time anterior to 1760, it seems that the hill-chieftains or rajahs—an ignorant, selfish set of petty tyrants—had been at issue with their subjects and neighbours, and more particularly with their own relations. Thus, while there was amongst them no principle of combination for mutual defence against a common enemy, not one of the petty principalities was sufficiently strong or united within itself to be capable of substantial resistance.

The Goorkha chiefs were at all times as ready to apply the influence of intrigue as open force, and could well combine both for the prosecution of their ends. They had a regular army, obedient to its officers, and the whole in proper subordination to the state. This was always available to the weaker party, upon conditions, and the frequent internal

dissensions of the rajas, which successively came to form the Goorkha frontier, never failed to produce the invitation.

Prithee Nurayun Sah a Goorkha, has the merit of establishing the system which raised the Nepaul nation to power. Taught by the example of our early victories in Bengal, he armed and disciplined a body of troops after the English fashion; and after a struggle of more than ten years, finally subjugated the valley of Nepaul by their means in 1768. The Moorshedabad Nuwab (Kasim Ulee Khan) attempted to interfere in 1762-63, but sustained a signal defeat under the walls of Muckwanpore; and the British Government was not more successful in an effort made some years after to succour the last of the Sooruj Bunsee dynasty, who reigned at Khatmandhoo.*

* The expedition was undertaken at the recommendation of Mr. Golding, the Commercial Agent at Betia, who feared that the success of the Goorkhas would ruin the trade he before carried on with Nepaul: it had been interrupted for three or four years in consequence

Prithee Nurayun dying in 1771, his son Singh Purtab, and, in 1775, his grandson, Run Bahadur came successively to the throne; the latter, however, being an infant, Buhadur Sah, another son of Prithee Nurayun, struggled long with his brother's widow for the Regency. Her death at last gave him the ascendancy.

During the regency of Buhadur Sah, Mr. Jonathan Duncan of the Bengal Civil Service, then Resident at Benares, (afterwards a dis-

of the subjugation of Muckwanpore. Major Kinloch commanded the party destined for the relief of the Nepaul rajah. He was a good officer; but advanced into the hills a month at least too early (in October, 1767), and had not strength enough to establish a chain of depôts to secure his communication with the plains; consequently, having penetrated to Hureehurpoor, he was detained there by a nulla, not fordable, and the bridge and raft he constructed were carried away after a fall of rain, which swelled the torrent unnaturally. The delay thus experienced exhausted his supplies, and produced sickness; so that, finally, he was obliged to return early in December—the time when, properly, he should have set out.

tinguished Governor of Bombay) entered into a commercial treaty with the Nepaulese, which secured certain advantages to the merchants of Hindostan and was by no means unprofitable to the former. The arrangement, however, though warmly supported by the Governor-General, the able Marquis of Cornwallis, and most cordially, conscientiously and scrupulously fulfilled on the part of the British, did not endure. The habitual jealousy of the Goorkhas, fostered if not influenced by the insidious representations of individuals desirous of preserving the exclusive influence and profitable monopoly which that jealousy had enabled them to acquire, and which they saw endangered by the closer approach of the two governments, either wholly prevented the removal, or soon led to the revival, of many of those impediments to a secure and active trade which it had been the express purpose of the recent treaty to obviate. Accordingly, little or no progress had been made in effectuating the enlightened views of the framer of the treaty,

when the course of events seemed, on a sudden, to furnish a peculiarly favourable occasion for accomplishing their complete realisation.

The court of Pekin, resenting certain encroachments which had been made by the government of Nepaul upon the rights of the Lama of Tibet, whom the Emperor of China had, for some time past, taken under his protection, or in other words, had subjected to the Chinese yoke, came to the resolution of chastising the aggressor, or, the Robber, as the Rajah of Nepaul was contemptuously styled in the Chinese dispatches to Lord Cornwallis on the occasion. For this purpose, a considerable army was detached (under the command of a kinsman of the Emperor), which after traversing the dreary and elevated regions of Tibet, had penetrated, with little other opposition besides what was presented by the nature of the intervening countries, within a short distance of the city of Khatmandoo. It was then that the ruling power of Nepaul, which, in consequence of the minority of the

reigning rajah, was at this period vested in a regency, alarmed at the danger with which it saw the kingdom menaced, earnestly implored the assistance of the Bengal government.

This government now beheld for the first time, the extraordinary spectacle of a numerous Chinese force occupying a position which probably afforded a distant view of the valley of the Ganges, and of the richest of the East India Company's possessions. It is true, that the military character of that people was not of a stamp to excite, under any circumstances, much fear for the safety of those possessions from their future enterprises. Least of all had we anything to apprehend from this quarter at the period in question, when we had just signally humbled our most formidable enemy and were at complete peace throughout India. Still, however, if, by subduing Nepaul, the Chinese were to establish themselves permanently in our neighbourhood, the border disputes always incident to such a situation would be but too liable to disturb more or less, the commercial

relations subsisting between them and the East India Company in another section of Asia. No event, therefore, was more to be deprecated than the conquest of Nepaul by the Chinese: and yet it would have been a question of considerable difficulty and delicacy how to have frustrated such a design, if it had been actually entertained by the invaders. Military aid, which was what the regency of Nepaul had solicited of the British Government, could not be afforded without a direct departure from the system of policy laid down for its general guidance by the legislature; or without producing the immediate suspension, if not utter annihilation of our trade with Canton.

Such aid was therefore implicitly and steadily refused, but the assistance which could be properly granted was readily offered. This consisted in a tender of the mediation of our government for the purpose of effecting an amicable accommodation between the belligerents, and in a proposal to dispatch with all practicable expedition to the head-quarters of

the Chinese army, a British envoy furnished with suitable powers and instructions for the occasion. This offer, though falling far short of what was desired, and, perhaps, expected by the Nepaul Regency, was, nevertheless, accepted; and Captain William Kirkpatrick was, in consequence, appointed to conduct the proposed negociation in conjunction with the court of Khatmandoo.

But although the envoy lost no time in repairing to Patna, from whence he was to be conducted by a deputation to be sent thither for the purpose, from Nepaul, he found at his arrival at the former place, that the Regency, either dubious of the efficacy of our interposition with the Chinese, or fearful of the influence which, if successful, it might give us in their future councils, or, possibly, really intimidated by the menacing attitude of the enemy, had suddenly, and without any reference to the British government, concluded such a treaty with the invaders, as entirely superseded the necessity of the proposed mediation. The

treaty alluded to was never formally communicated to the British government, but there is reason to believe that though it rescued the dominions of the Goorkhali from the more immediate danger with which they appeared to be threatened, it was, in other respects, by no means honourable to the rulers of that country; especially if it be true, as was affirmed at the time by some intelligent persons, that a little more firmness on the part of the Regency would speedily have compelled the Chinese (who had suffered greatly from sickness and scarcity, and were not less impatient to quit Nepaul, than the Nepaulians were to get rid of them), to solicit the accommodation, which they were permitted to make a merit of granting.

Notwithstanding, however, that the original ground of the proposed mission was, by this means, removed, there remained sufficient subject of discussion between the two governments of Bengal and Nepaul, to make that measure still extremely desirable. Accordingly, there was not much difficulty in leading the Nepaul ministers to this point. It would have

been, at least an ungracious return to the friendly disposition recently manifested towards them by the Company's government, if they had rudely sent back the envoy of the latter, after he had, as it were, advanced to their door with their own concurrence, and in the prosecution of their immediate interests.

He, therefore, sometimes after his arrival at Patna, received a sufficiently pressing invitation to proceed to Noakote, where the Rajah of Nepaul at that time held his court; and having obtained the necessary authority for the purpose, from his own government, he proceeded there accordingly.

Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission, which has been well described by himself, in a work published some forty years ago, did not result in any measure of importance beyond strengthening the good understanding subsisting between the Nepaulese and the British, and enabling us to accumulate information regarding the general features, extent and productions of the valley of Nepaul.

In 1795, Run Bahadur came of age. He

forcibly assumed the sceptre and destroyed the influence of his uncle, the Regent. Proving a tyrant, however, he was in his turn expelled the *musnud* (throne); he fled to Benares in the British Indian dominions.

In the interval of his exile, the Bengal government, at the head of which was the late Marquis of Wellesley, established a commercial treaty with the ruling powers, and Captain (afterwards Major) Knox of the Bengal army, who had accompanied Colonel Kirkpatrick and the mission, was sent in 1801, as resident at Khatmandoo. The same jealousy of the object with which the connexion was originally sought being still alive, Major Knox was recalled and the connexion broken off in 1804.

Soon after Major Knox's recall, Run Buhadur left Benares, and was received again with open arms by his subjects of Khatmandoo; but his disposition proved to be incorrigibly tyrannical; his bad propensities had been exasperated rather than chastened by adversity, and by the re-

straints of a residence within the British frontier.

Run Bahadur's first object after his reinstation, was, if possible, to obtain *caste* for the future sovereigns of Nepaul which had been denied him, and his mode of carrying out his purpose was in perfect harmony with his many previous insane and cruel proceedings. He determined upon obtaining a Brahmin wife from the plains of India, and knowing that all hopes of doing so except by force was useless, he employed the latter. His sacrilegious conduct was loudly denounced, and the sequel shewed that the Gods were not favourable to his wishes.

His beautiful, now Brahmin, Queen gave birth to three children and immediately after her last confinement was attacked with small pox. Run Bahadur now became almost frantic; all the hakeems (native doctors) were consulted and large rewards were offered for a perfect recovery.

The doctors at Nepaul were propitiated and

consulted. Sacrifices and daily offerings were made to them. The Ranee getting worse, all became alarmed and the King furious. His ministers and doctors then advised, that, as the holy city of Benares contained many celebrated men, a deputation should immediately be sent there to fetch as many as could be induced to come to Nepaul under promises of large rewards for a cure. These arrived in due time, but all their art was in vain. The small pox had done its work most effectually, and on the Queen's recovery, (she having stipulated the King should neither see nor visit her until she was well), she requested her attendants to furnish her with a looking-glass. When she beheld for the first time the dreadful ravages made on her once beautiful face, she became disconsolate, and dismissing her attendants poisoned herself. The vegetable poisons of Nepaul are quick and deadly, and to this day no antidote has been found for them. Upon hearing of her death, Run Bahadur rushed into her apartment, and beholding his once

lovely Queen a corpse, and dreadfully spotted with the small pox he became frantic. He cursed his kingdom, her doctors, and the Gods of Nepaul, vowing vengeance on all. He first sent for the unfortunate Benares doctors, denounced them as liars and impostors, and ordered them to be soundly flogged, and each to have his right ear and nose cut off in his presence. This was duly performed, and they were afterwards started to the British dominions as a warning to all future impostors.

He then wreaked his vengeance on the Gods of Nepaul (not even excepting the famous temple at Pas Pat Nath) and after abusing them in the most gross way, he accused them of having obtained from him twelve thousand goats, sone hundred weight of sweetmeats, two thousand gallons of milk, &c. under false pretences, and that he would take summary vengeance for having wilfully disfigured his Queen.

He then ordered all the artillery, varying from 3 to 12-pounders, to be brought in front of the

palace, with all the made-up ammunition at Khatmandoo. All the guns were then loaded to the muzzle, and down he marched to the head-quarters of the Nepaul deities. On arriving at Pas Pat Nath all the guns were drawn up in front of the several deities, honouring the most sacred with the heaviest metal. When the order to fire was given, many of the chiefs and soldiers ran away panic stricken and others hesitated to obey the sacrilegious order; and not until several gunners had been cut down, were the guns opened. Down came the gods and goddesses from their hitherto sacred positions; and after six hours heavy cannonading not a vestige of the deities remained.

Their temples sharing the same fate the priests ran away confounded, many escaping to the British territory, but those who were not so fortunate were seized and each deprived of his holy head. The Goorkha King now became satisfied, vowing, however, no God should ever again be elevated in his dominions until his departed Queen was restored to him.

His life after this, as may be supposed, was a short one. The principal chiefs of his court therefore, who found themselves the objects of his cruel and revengeful persecutions, again formed a conspiracy against the Rajah, which was brought to a desperate issue rather prematurely.

The conspirators having some reason to apprehend that they were betrayed, suddenly resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and one of them, Run Bahadur's half-brother, rushed forward in open Durbar and cut down Run Bahadur, cutting him nearly to the middle by a blow from his Korah (a short but heavy weapon of a half-moon shape, the edge of which is on the inner side like that of a scythe), as he sat in full Durbar in 1805. A barbarous affray followed, in which the fratricide himself was slain with most of the chiefs, and the royal family was nearly exterminated.

An infant son of Run Bahadur's was, however, with difficulty secreted in the women's apartments, and thus saved from the

massacre by Bheem Sen Thappa, who proclaimed him a few days after, by the name of Koorman, Jodh, Beckrum Sah, and who by his influence with the Regent-mother succeeded in introducing himself to a large share in the government.

CHAPTER VIII.

WARLIKE PRELIMINARIES.

BHEEM SAH was a man of warlike propensities and of considerable ability. Under his regency the passion of the Goorkhas for territorial aggrandisement received an impetus. He carried the tide of conquest westward as far as the Sutlej, subduing the hill rajahs whose lands and authority intervened. Simultaneously with his operations in the west, encroachment was countenanced to the eastward on the territories subject to the British Government. Along the whole of the border, from the frontier of Tirhoot to that of the

districts between the Sutlej and the Jumna, the agressive conduct of the officers in the employ of the Nepaul Government had given repeated occasion for remonstrance and representations. Sometimes the Court of Khatmandoo marked its apparent dissatisfaction with their proceedings by removing or suspending the officers; at other times it justified and upheld their conduct on the plea that they were directed to the re-occupation of tracts which had originally belonged to Nepaul, or to chiefs whom the Goorkhas had subdued, and to whose possessions they had the right which conquest confers. In 1807 outrages were committed on the frontier of Pooneah; remonstrances were addressed to the Nepaulese Government; but as no satisfaction was obtained, a military force was employed in 1809 to expel the Goorkhas from the disputed lands. Subsequently to this, claims were advanced by the Nepaulese to certain lands included within the limits of the British provinces of Sarun and Goruckpore. These lands were the district of Sheoraj and the

province of Bhotwal, the whole of which were in the hands of a tributary Rajah whom the Goorkha Government deemed it politic to consider had forfeited his possessions because of his share in the conspiracy, which had terminated in the murder of Run Bahadur. After several protracted negotiations with successive governments, it was proposed to the Nepaulese that they should retain Sheoraj and withdraw from Bhotwal, but they persevered in declining to listen to any compromise, and had actually sent troops to occupy a part of the latter country.

During the tedious and unfriendly discussions carried on with reference to these lands, similar aggressions supported by similar pretensions were committed in the British territory of Sarun lying to the east of Goruckpore, and, like it, contiguous on its northern division, which constituted the district of Bettia, to the hills throughout the state of Muckwanpore. Between the Rajah of Betteah and the Rajah of Muckwanpore border disputes had

always subsisted. The Goorkhas taking the part of the latter, and seizing upon part of the Betteah lands, the Betteah Rajah appealed to the British for assistance and the expedition under Major Kinloch, to which reference has already been made, was the result. We thus became possessors of Muckwanpore. What followed is so essential to a right understanding of the course of the war with the Goorkhas in 1814, that it will be better to give the narrative in the words of Professor Wilson,* who has drawn his summary from the Papers regarding the Nepaul War, printed by the East India Company.

"In 1767 a military force under Major Kinloch drove the Goorkhas out of the province, and, following them into the hills, took possession of Muckwanpore. When a good understanding with the Court of Khatmandoo was restored, Mr. Hastings gave up that part

* Mill's "History of India," continued by H. H. Wilson, Bodleian Professor of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford.

of Muckwanpore which was situated in the hills, but retained the lowlands on the Betteah frontier as a compensation for the cost of the military expedition which the Bengal Government had been compelled in self-defence to undertake. From that period the conquered tract had formed a portion of the Betteah Zemindari and had paid revenue to the British government without any question of its right having been agitated by Nepaul.

"In 1811, however, emboldened by the obvious reluctance of the government of Bengal to engage in hostilities—a reluctance which, agreeably to the maxims of Goorkha policy, could only be accounted for by conscious weakness—the Nepaulese advanced a claim to the division of Nanori in Betteah; and the Goorkha Governor of the adjacent hill district crossed the border with an armed force, burnt and plundered numerous villages, levied contributions on several, and called upon others, to the number of twenty-two in the aggregate, to acknowledge allegiance to his government.

His incursion provoked resistance; the people of the country took up arms, and, as the Goorkha party was weak, defeated and expelled them. Their leader was killed in the affray. A stronger force was immediately dispatched from Nepaul, against which no adequate means of resistance were at hand; and the whole of the lands originally separated from Muckwanpore were forcibly re-occupied by the Goorkhas, without their condescending to give previous intimation of their pretensions or their purposes.* After

* Besides the districts more particularly specified in the text, various encroachments had occurred almost throughout the whole of the border, from the Tista to the Sutlej. In Tirhoot, between 1787 and 1812, more than two hundred villages had, at different times, been appropriated by the Nepaulese. In Bareilly they had occupied five out of eight divisions of the Pergunna of Khyrapur. They claimed an extensive tract in the Zilla of Moradabad; and in 1813 they attempted to occupy several villages in the territory of the protected Sikh chiefs, but were prevented by the interference of the British Political Agent.—*Nepaul Papers, printed for the Court of Proprietors. Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings*, 677.

long and protracted discussions, the right of the British government to the disputed lands on the frontier of Goruckpore was established by documentary evidence, to rebut which no satisfactory testimony was brought forward by the Commissioners from Nepaul. They nevertheless declined to recognise the claim of the British, or to direct the removal of the Goorkha officers from the usurped districts without authority from Khatmandoo, to which they required to refer. A suggestion was, however, made to Major Bradshaw, that the Rajah of Nepaul should cede the disputed lands in exchange for a tract six miles broad, along the skirts of the hills, to be given up by the British government. To this compromise Lord Minto refused his concurrence; he considered the proposal to be equivalent to an admission that the right of his government to Sheoraj and Bhotwal was substantiated, as was truly the case, and that the Court of Nepaul was not entitled to any compensation for the abandonment of unjust and violent usurpations. He regarded the proposition as also evasive and

temporising, and as unlikely, even if acquiesced in, to put a stop to the unfounded claims of the Goorkha government. He consequently insisted on the unqualified restoration of the usurped territory; and as the commissioners pleaded want of powers, he addressed a letter to the Rajah, reminding him of his promise to abide by the result of the inquiry, and calling upon him to fulfil his promise by ordering his officers to retire from the disputed districts, expressing his earnest wish to remain upon terms of amity with the Nepaul state, but declaring his intention of occupying the lands in question by force if they were not peaceably resigned. Military preparations were set on foot for carrying the menace into effect when the season should permit, as little expectation was entertained that the Court of Khatmandoo would be induced by conciliatory representations to recede from its pretensions. Before a definitive answer was received from the Rajah, the Earl of Moira had succeeded to the government of India."

When the aggressions on the Sarun frontier were committed, strong remonstrances were addressed to the Court of Khatmandoo, and a demand was made that the lands which had been seized should be immediately restored. It was conceded, however, that the right to them should nevertheless be investigated by the magistrate of Sarun and the officers of Nepaul; and it was promised, that, if the Goorkha claim to any of the villages should be made good, they should be restored.

An investigation accordingly took place, the result of which was to disprove the Goorkha pretensions;* but a final decision was not

* A different story is, however, told by the government of Nepaul. In their instructions to an accredited agent who was to have been dispatched to Calcutta, and which document fell into the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, they accuse Bir Kishore Sing (the Rajah of Betteah) of having originated the encroachments, taken possession of a large portion of land, and committed an atrocious murder in the Nepaul territories, (referring to the death of the Goorkha officer mentioned in the text). The Rajah proceeds: "You will state

insisted on until the commissioners in Goruckpore should be able to extend their inquiries to Sarun. It appeared, however, to the new Governor-General that the question of right had been so unequivocally decided by the previous proceedings, that it needed no further deliberation; and Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw was authorised to proceed to the spot in company with the Goorkha Commissioners, for the purpose only of adjusting any minor points which might

that, in consequence of a letter which I received from Mr. Hawkins, of Patna, assuring me that Bir Kishore Sing would be punished by the British government, I did not punish him as I should otherwise have done; I, however, recovered possession of the twenty-two villages which he had seized. Mr. Young was afterwards sent to investigate the question respecting these villages. By his inquiries the right of this Government, and aggression of the Zumindar of Bettia, were fully established; the Betteah man could produce no documents whatever in support of his claim. Mr. Young has probably reported this to government. You will state these observations in a proper manner."—*Nepaul Papers*, 383.

remain to be set at rest. The villages had in the meantime been conditionally evacuated by the Nepaulese. Their own Commissioners disapproved of the temporary transfer; and, making their disapproval a plea for closing the conference, refused to hold any further communication with the British representative, and returned abruptly to Nepaul.*

It was evident, from the conduct of the Goorkha Commissioners, that the Court of Khatmandoo had no serious intention to concur in

* The abrupt departure of the Commissioners is referred by Mr. Prinsep to the receipt, by the Rajah of Nepaul, of the letter of the Governor-General, declaring his resolution to occupy the disputed lands by force, if not given up within a specified period. According to the document last quoted, it arose from personal dissatisfaction with the British Commissioner. "They had an interview with the Major, who made use of improper language towards them; in consequence of which they remained silent, and seeing no business brought forward, they came away."—*Nepaul Papers*, 384. (The state papers of Nepaul appear to be no more veracious than those of more civilized nations.)

any amicable settlement; but unwilling to precipitate a quarrel, the Governor-General renewed in an address to the Rajah the remonstrances and arguments that had been hitherto urged in vain, requiring him to acquiesce in the conclusion which had been established by the conferences of the Commissioners both in Goruckpore and Sarun, and to accede to the peaceable occupation of the lands by the civil officers of the British government. A refusal to acknowledge the Company's rights was, after some delay, received. No alternative, therefore, remained but the relinquishment of the claims which had been substantiated, or their resolute vindication.

The latter was adopted. The villages on the Sarun frontier were retained, and a detachment was sent into Bhotwal and Sheoraj before which the Nepaulese authorities retired without attempting to offer any resistance.* The

* These details are taken chiefly from the Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings.—*Nepaul Papers*, 673. The opinions of the council, as commu-

promptitude and decision which characterized the measures of the British government convinced the Court of Khatmandoo that the crisis which it must have contemplated had now arrived, and that disputes respecting border lands had terminated in the alternative of peace or war. The question was deliberately considered in a council of the principal chiefs, and a

nicated to the Rajah of Palpah, fell into the hands of the English, and were printed by Mr. Prinsep. The Rajah proposes war, and is seconded by Bhim Sen Thapa, the Regent. The strength of the country, and military power and reputation of Nepaul, are the chief topics of reliance. On the other hand, some fear is expressed of the defection of the hill Rajahs, by which an opening into the mountains may be afforded to the enemy; and some of the chiefs do not hesitate to declare their opinion of the superiority of the British forces. We have hitherto, say they, but hunted deer; if we engage in this war, we must prepare to fight tigers. It is clear that the war was disapproved of by the most judicious of the Rajah's advisers, and that it originated chiefly in the presumption and ignorance of the Regent.—*Prinsep's Transactions in India*, 8vo. ed. Vol. I. App. 457.

summary of their opinions was transmitted to the military governors of the frontier. In deference to the sentiments of the Rajah, or rather of the Regent-minister, who advocated hostilities, the conclusion of the council was for war; but several of the chiefs entertained sounder views of its probable consequences, urged perseverance in the course of policy hitherto pursued, and recommended, if unavoidable, the ultimate concession of the disputed territory below the hills. To these prudent recommendations were opposed the uniform success which had hitherto attended the arms of Nepaul, the powerful military force of the principality, and the natural strength of the country, which constituted an impregnable barrier against an English invasion. The small fort of Bhurtpore, argued the minister, was the work of man, yet the British were defeated in their attempts against it. How little then, was it likely that they should storm the mountain fastnesses constructed by the hand of God! The determination, however unwise, indicated a lofty and patriotic spirit; but the

mode in which it was announced was characteristic of a barbarous court.

The approach of the rainy season and the unhealthiness of the country at that period, as well as the seeming acquiescence of the Nepaulese in the occupation of the disputed lands, induced the government to withdraw the troops, leaving a civil force of armed police at the frontier thanas or stations of Bhotwal and Sheoraj. On the morning of the 29th May, a party of Goorkhas, under the command of the late governor of the district, attacked the post at Bhotwal. The police were overpowered, eighteen men were killed, and the head officer, or Kaunadar, who surrendered himself, was tied to a tree and killed with arrows. The stations of Sheoraj were abandoned by the police, but not until one had been surprised and several lives had been lost. The lands were immediately taken possession of by the Goorkhas.

Although this outrage demanded instant punishment, the season of the year delayed

its infliction, and an opportunity was afforded to the Rajah of disavowing the perpetrators of the offence. A letter from the Governor-General required him to fulfil the obligation, but it received an evasive and menacing reply. Hostilities were therefore evidently unavoidable; and, after an interval diligently devoted to preliminary arrangements, and the collection of information regarding a country but little known, war with Nepaul was announced, in a manifesto detailing its causes and vindicating its necessity.

DECLARATION.

The British government having been compelled to take up arms against the Nepaulese, his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General has judged it proper to make known to the Powers in alliance and friendship with the Honourable Company, the origin and progress of the transactions which have ter-

minated in this crisis; in the full conviction that the exposition will establish beyond dispute the extraordinary moderation and forbearance of the British government, and the injustice, violence and aggression of the state of Nepaul.

The course of the Goorkha conquests having approximated their frontier to that of the Honourable Company, and of its ally the Nawaub Vizier, and the protected Sikh chieftains, throughout an extent of country stretching from the eastern border of Morung to the banks of the Sutlej, it was scarcely to be expected that differences should not occasionally arise between the inhabitants of the contiguous districts belonging to the two states, and even among the local public officers of each government; but a just and firm line of conduct on the part of the two governments, combined with a sincere disposition to maintain uninterrupted the relations of amity, and to respect the rights of each other, could not have failed to arrest the progress of those unhappy disputes which have terminated in war.

While the conduct of the British government has been uniformly regulated in its relations with the Nepaulese, by the most scrupulous adherence to the principles of justice and moderation, there is scarcely a single district within the British frontier, throughout the whole of the extensive line above described, in which the Goorkhas have not usurped and appropriated lands forming the ascertained dominions of the Honourable Company.

Questions originating in the usurpations of the Nepaulese have arisen in Purnea, Tirhoot, Sarun, Goruckpore, and Bareilly, as well as in the protected territory between the Sutlej and the Jumna; and each case might be appealed to in proof of the moderation and forbearance of the British government and the aggressive and insolent spirit of the Nepaulese. It will be enough, however, to advert in detail to two instances only; namely, those which occurred in Sarun and in Goruckpore, which more particularly demonstrate the systematic design of the Nepaulese to encroach on the acknowledged

possessions of the Honourable Company; and have, in fact, been the proximate causes of the war.

In the former district, they have at different times established their authority over the territory of Betteah; but the British government, abiding by those principles of moderation and forbearance so conspicuous in all its transactions with the Nepaulese, contented itself for a considerable period with remonstrances and representations, trusting that the justice of its cause would become apparent to the Nepaulese government, and produce its proper effect on the mind of the Rajah and his ministers. The repeated complaints of its subjects, and the occurrence of a new instance of encroachment in the Tuppah of Nunnore, forming a portion of Betteah, which led to an affray in which Subah Luchingir, an officer of the Nepaulese government, was slain, at last induced the British government to depute one of its civil officers to the spot, where he was met by deputies from the state of Nepaul;

in concert with whom proceedings were held, and evidence taken, for the purpose of ascertaining the claims of the parties. The result left no doubt of the right of the British government, and of the unjust and violent procedure of the Nepaulese.

A more striking proof of the spirit of rapacity and unjust aggression by which the Nepaulese were actuated cannot be adduced than the fact, that, after having agreed to the investigation referred to above, and after the actual deputation of officers by each government, the Nepaulese suddenly seized an additional tract of country belonging to the Company, at a very short distance from the scene of their former aggressions.

This violent and unjust procedure would have warranted an immediate demand for restitution, or even the actual re-occupation of the lands by force; and it may now be a subject of regret to the British government that this course was not pursued. Far, however, from resenting or punishing this daring

outrage as it deserved, the British government resolved to persevere in the amicable course which it had pursued in other cases, and permitted Mr. Young, the gentleman deputed to meet the Nepaulese Commissioners, to extend his inquiries to the lands newly seized, as above stated, as well as to those which formed the original object of his deputation.

The pretext by which the Nepaulese attempted to justify their occupation of the lands in Nunnore, which consisted of no less than twenty-two villages, was, that they were included in the Tuppah of Rotehut, forming a division of Purgunnah Sunnown; which Tuppah was restored to the Nepaulese in the year 1783, with the rest of the Terraiee of Muckwanpore, which had been conquered by the British arms under Major Kinloch. The utter groundlessness of this pretext was proved by the evidence taken by Mr. Young, which clearly established that the disputed lands were situated in the Tuppah of Nunnore, a portion of Purgunnah

Simruwun, which had been reserved by the Company at the time of the restitution of Rotehut, and the remainder of Muckwanpore. But had it been otherwise, the tacit acquiescence by the Nepaulese in our possession of those lands for a period of thirty years would have amounted to a dereliction of their claim, however well founded it might originally have been.

The abrupt and violent manner in which the Nepaulese have invariably possessed themselves of those portions of the Honourable Company's territory to which they have at any time pretended a right, will not allow the supposition that they would have refrained during so long a period from doing themselves justice in the present case, if they had felt conscious of the validity of the claim. It is evident, from the whole tenor of their proceedings, that they acted on that premeditated system of gradual encroachment, which, owing to the unexampled forbearance and moderation of the British government, they had already

found to be successful; and that the assertion of the twenty-two villages having been included in the Tuppah of Rotehut, was merely brought forward to give colour to the unwarrantable act which they had committed, when it became necessary to assign a reason for their conduct.

The Nepaulese have attempted to fix on the subjects of the Honourable Company the guilt of the murder of Subah Luchingir, and have stated, as matter of complaint against the British government, that the Rajah of Betteah and his followers have not been punished for that act; and they have endeavoured to found on this charge a justification of their own subsequent proceedings. It has been ascertained, however, by incontestable evidence, that Luchingir had, previously to the occurrence of the affray in which he died, possessed himself of some villages in Betteah, and was preparing to extend his encroachments. Whatever degree of culpability, therefore, may attach to the subjects of the Honourable Company

for forcibly opposing his proceedings, their offence was towards their own government alone; and the Nepaulese could not, with any colour of justice, demand the punishment of those persons for an act produced solely by misconduct of their own officers, or charge the British government with a culpable omission of what would have been, under different circumstances, due to a state professedly on friendly terms with it; still less can they found on this transaction any justification of their own conduct in other instances.

As the final resolution of the British government with respect to the usurped lands in Betteah, was in part influenced by the conduct of the Nepaulese, relative to the disputed territory of Bhotwal and Sheoraj in Goruckpore, it will be proper to advert to the circumstances of that transaction in this place.

It is notorious, and has also been proved by reference to authentic records, and by the unimpeached testimony of living witnesses, that the whole of Bhotwal, to the very foot of

the hills, with the exception of the town of Bhotwal alone, was held by the Rajahs of Palpah, from the Nawaub Vizier, for a considerable period antecedent to the treaty of cession in 1801; and that it was transferred to the Company by the terms of that treaty, being specifically included in the schedule thereunto annexed. It is no less matter of notoriety, that the district of Bhotwal actually came into the possession of the British government by virtue of the cession; and that a settlement was made by the collector of Goruckpore with the agent of the late Rajah of Palpah, at that time a prisoner at Khatmandoo, for an annual rent of thirty-two thousand rupees, without the semblance of an objection on the part of the Rajah of Nepaul. So it remained until the year 1804, when the Nepaulese commenced that system of gradual encroachment below the hills, which terminated in their occupation of nearly the whole district of Bhotwal. The Tuppah of Sheoraj was occupied by the Nepaulese ante-

cedently to the cession; but it is no less certain that it was a part of the territory of the Vizier, and, together with the rest of the lowlands skirting the hills in the district of Goruckpore, included in the cession.

The Nepaulese pretended to found their claim to Bhotwal and Sheoraj, and to the other portions of the lands below the hills, on the circumstance of their having formed the Terraiee, or lowlands, of the hill-countries of Palpah, Goolmee, Pentaneh, Kamchee, &c., which the Nepaulese have conquered. Admitting that the lowlands were possessed by the chiefs of the neighbouring hill principalities, the admission does not affect the question; since it is perfectly ascertained, that, for a considerable period before the Goorkha conquest, they formed a part of the dominions of Oude; and the conquest, therefore, of the independent hill principalities cannot give to the conquering power any just claim to other lands, which, though in the occupation of the

same chiefs, were held on dependent tenures from another state.

To show the little confidence that the Nepaulese had in their claim of sovereignty over these lands, it is sufficient to observe, that, soon after their usurpation of them, they actually made an offer to hold Bhotwal in farm from the British government, on the same terms as the Rajah of Palpah; a proposition to which this government did not think proper to accede.

The system of gradual, and at times almost imperceptible, encroachment pursued by the Nepaulese, was calculated to deceive the British government with respect to their ultimate views, and, combined with the just and moderate course of proceedings which the British government has pursued in all its intercourse with the Nepaulese, prevented it from resorting to those means which would at once have repressed the outrage of the Nepaulese, and re-established its own authority

in the usurped lands. The remonstrances and discussions which followed the first usurpation of the Nepaulese in this quarter, continued with frequent interruption for a period of some years, during which the Nepaulese continued to avail themselves of every favourable occasion of extending their encroachments. At length, a proposition was made by the Rajah of Nepaul, that commissioners should be appointed to meet on the spot, and investigate and decide the respective claims of the parties, under the express condition that, whatever might be the issue of the inquiry, both governments would abide by it. Notwithstanding its perfect conviction of the justice of its own claims, the British government did not hesitate to submit to the delay and expense necessarily attending the proposed investigation, confiding in the ultimate, though tardy, admission of its rights by the Nepaulese, and anxious to afford an unequivocal proof of the moderation of its conduct, and the justice of its cause. The proposition of the Rajah of Nepaul was accord-

ingly acceded to; and Major Bradshaw was directed to proceed to Bhotwal, and enter on the investigation in concert with commissioners to be appointed by the Nepaulese government.

The commissioners of the two governments met, and, after much delay and procrastination on the part of the Nepaulese agents, the proceedings were brought to a close, and the right of the British government to the whole of the lowlands, confirmed by the most irrefragable proofs, both oral and documentary.

The Nepaulese commissioners, unable to resist the force of this evidence, and clearly restrained by the orders of their court from admitting the right of the British government, pretended that they were not authorized to come to a decision, and referred the case to the Rajah's government for orders.

The advanced period of the season when the commissioners closed their proceedings, rendered it impracticable to take any steps founded on them, until the ensuing year. The

immediate procedure of the British government was, therefore, confined to a communication to the Rajah, stating in general terms, the conclusions necessarily resulting from the proceedings of the commissioners, and requiring the Rajah to give up the lands according to the condition on which the investigation was acceded to, on the grounds of the conclusive proof of its right, established by those proceedings. To this just and fair demand, the Rajah of Nepaul replied by repeating all those arguments in favour of its own claim, which had been entirely overthrown by the evidence adduced to the commissioners, and refused to restore the lands. In this state the affairs necessarily remained until the ensuing season, 1813-14.

In the meanwhile, Major Bradshaw proceeded, as soon as the state of the country admitted of his marching, to the frontier of Betteah, where he was to be met by commissioners from Nepaul, empowered to adjust in concert with him the depending claims in

that quarter; no practical measures having yet resulted from the inquiry conducted by Mr. Young.

Major Bradshaw, soon after his arrival, renewed a demand which had been made by the British government, but not enforced at the time, for the restoration of the twenty-two villages of Nunnore, previously to any examination of the question of right. This demand was acceded to by the Nepaulese, and the villages were re-occupied by the officers of the Honourable Company, subject to the ultimate disposal of them, according to the issue of the intended inquiry.

The refusal of the Nepaulese government to abide by the result of an inquiry sought by itself in the case of the encroachments in Goruckpore, notwithstanding the full and complete establishment of the rights of the British government to the disputed lands in that quarter, now led the Governor-General in Council to pause before he consented to incur the loss, inconvenience, and anxiety

attendant on a new investigation of the claims of the respective governments to the usurped lands in Sarun. On duly reflecting on all that had passed—on the actual proof of the claim of the British government, established by Mr. Young's inquiry, conducted in concert with the Nepaulese commissioners, an inquiry which embraced the testimony on oath of all those persons who could be supposed to possess the best local knowledge; and which had, moreover, this advantage over every subsequent investigation, that it was held at a period so much nearer to the time of the transaction; and on the presumptive proof of our right, arising out of the fact acknowledged by the Nepaulese themselves, of our uninterrupted possession during thirty years—the mind of the Governor-General in Council was perfectly satisfied that a further investigation *de novo* would be an unprofitable waste of time, and that the utmost that the Nepaulese government could in fairness expect, was, that the commissioners of both governments should meet

for the purpose of discussing the question on the basis of the investigation actually closed, and of supplying any defects which might be discovered in that investigation by further inquiry on the spot.

When the result of the deliberations of the Governor-General in Council was notified to the Nepaulese commissioners by Major Bradshaw, with an officer to meet them for the purpose stated, and to produce documents which he had obtained, confirming the correctness of the conclusions drawn from the evidence formerly taken, the commissioners declared that they would not meet him, nor hold any communication with him; and, revoking the conditional transfer of the usurped lands, demanded that Major Bradshaw should instantly leave the frontier. They immediately afterwards returned to Nepaul.

This insulting and unprovoked declaration could be referred to no other cause, than a previous determination not to fulfil the obligations of justice towards the British govern-

ment, and left to it no course, but to do itself that right which was refused by the government of Nepaul. Acting on this principle, the Governor-General addressed a letter to the Rajah of Nepaul, reviewing the conduct of his commissioners, and claiming the full renunciation of the disputed lands; adding, that if it were not made within a given time, the portions of these lands still in the hands of the Nepaulese would be re-occupied, and the twenty-two villages which had been conditionally transferred to the British government declared to be finally re-annexed to the dominions of the Honourable Company. This demand not having been complied with, the resumption of the lands was carried into effect, and the authority of the British government re-established throughout the tract in dispute.

While these occurrences were passing in Sarun, the British government, perceiving from the tenor of the whole conduct of the state of Nepaul, and from the answer to its

demand for the restitution of Bhotwal and Sheoraj, that no intention existed on the part of the Rajah to restore those lands, was compelled to prepare to take possession of them by force, if that necessity should arise. Previously, however, to ordering the troops to advance into the disputed territory, the Governor-General in Council made one more effort to induce the Rajah to restore them, by renewing the demand, founded on the result of the investigation, and declared at the same time that if the orders of surrender were not received within a limited time (which was specified) the British troops would proceed to occupy the lands. The specified period having expired without the adoption of any measure on the part of the Nepaulese government towards a compliance with the just requisition of the British government, the troops were ordered to march; and the Nepaulese forces and the public officers of that government retiring on the advance of the British troops, the civil officers of the Honourable Company

were enabled to establish their authority in the disputed lands.

The commencement of the rainy season shortly rendered it necessary to withdraw the regular troops, in order that they might not be exposed to the periodical fevers which reign throughout the tract in that part of the year. The defence of the recovered lands was of course unavoidably intrusted to the police establishments. The apparent acquiescence, however, of the Nepaulese, in what had taken place, left no room for apprehension; especially as no real violence had been used in obliging the Nepaulese to retire from the district. On the morning of the 29th of May last, the principal police station in Bhotwal was attacked by a large body of the Nepaulese troops, headed by an officer of that government, named Munraj Foujdar, and driven out of Bhotwal, with the loss of eighteen men killed and six wounded. Among the former was the Darogah, or principal police officer, who was murdered in cold blood, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity,

in the presence of Munraj Foujdar, after surrendering himself a prisoner. Another police tannah was subsequently attacked by the Nepaulese troops, and driven out, with the loss of several persons killed and wounded. In consequence of the impracticability of supporting the police tannahs by sending troops into the country at that unhealthy season, it became necessary to withdraw them; and the Nepaulese were thus enabled to re-occupy the whole of the disputed territory, which they have since retained. The British government had not ceased to hope that an amicable adjustment of its differences with the state of Nepaul might still be accomplished, when the perpetration of this sanguinary and atrocious outrage, by which the state of Nepaul at once placed itself in the condition of a public enemy of the British government, put an end to the possibility of any accommodation, except on the basis of unqualified submission and atonement.

Still the Governor-General would not proceed to actual hostilities, without giving to the

Rajah of Nepaul one other opening for avoiding so serious an issue. Therefore his Excellency wrote to the Rajah of Nepaul, to apprise him of what must be the consequence of the insolent outrage which had taken place, unless the government of Nepaul should exonerate itself from the act, by disavowal, and punishment of the perpetrators. This letter received an answer wholly evasive, and even implying menace.

The requisite submission and atonement having thus been withheld, the British government had no choice left but an appeal to arms, in order to avenge its innocent subjects, and vindicate its insulted dignity and honour. The unfavourable season of the year alone prevented it from having instant recourse to the measures necessary for chastising the insolence, violence, and barbarity of the Nepaulese, whose whole conduct, not only in the particular cases above detailed, but in every part of their proceedings towards the British government, for a series of years, has been marked by an entire disregard of the principles

of honour, justice, and good faith, aggravated by the most flagrant insolence, presumption, and audacity, and has manifested the existence of a long-determined resolution on the part of the court of Khatmandoo, to reject all the just demands of the British government, and to refer the decision of the questions depending between the two states to the issue of a war.

Ever since the murder of the police officers in Bhotwal, and during the unavoidable interval of inaction which followed, the Nepaulese, with a baseness and barbarity peculiar to themselves, have endeavoured to destroy the troops and the subjects of the Company on the frontier of Sarun, by poisoning the water of the wells and tanks in a tract of considerable extent. The fortunate discovery of this attempt baffled the infamous design, and placed incontrovertible proof of it in the hands of the British government.

The impediment to military operations, arising from the season of the year, is now removed, and the British government is prepared, by the

active and vigorous employment of its resources, to compel the state of Nepaul to make that atonement which it is so justly entitled to demand. The British government has long borne the conduct of the Nepaulese with unexampled patience, opposing to their violence, insolence, and rapacity, a course of procedure uniformly just and moderate. But forbearance and moderation must have their limits; and the British government having been compelled to take up arms in defence of its rights, its interests, and its honour, will never lay them down until its enemy shall be forced to make ample submission and atonement for his outrageous conduct, to indemnify it for the expense of the war, and to afford full security for the future maintenance of those relations which he has so shamefully violated.

If the misguided councils of the state of Nepaul shall lead it obstinately to persist in rejecting these just demands, it will itself be responsible for the consequences. The British government has studiously endeavoured,

by every effort of conciliation, to avert the extremity of war, but it can have no apprehension of the result; and it relies with confidence on the justice of its cause, and on the skill, discipline, and valour of its armies, for a speedy, honourable, and decisive termination of the contest in which it is engaged.

By command of his Excellency the Governor-General.

(Signed) J. ADAM,
Secretary to Government.

Lucknow,
Nov. 1, 1814.

War having been resolved upon, it became necessary to determine the principles upon which it should be carried on; whether a defensive or offensive system should be adopted, and in either case what course should be pursued. The former was open to weighty objections. It was clearly impossible adequately to guard a line of open frontier, extending seven hundred miles, at every assailable point; and the Nepaulese would have it in

their power to inflict injury and loss upon their enemy with little hazard of suffering retaliation.

To maintain large bodies of troops in the field would be attended with the same expense, in whatever manner they might be employed; and the cost was likely to be heaviest in the end, if their inactivity was productive of a tedious and harassing prolongation of hostilities. It was also obviously advisable, not merely to defend the British territory against actual aggression, but to deprive the Goorkha government of the means of repeating their incursions by contracting the limits of their possessions, reducing their power, and humbling their ambition. The defensive system was therefore discarded, and it only remained to determine the plan of offensive operations; an advance to Khatmandoo with a concentrated force, or a simultaneous attack on different points of the long line of Goorkha conquests, throughout which the recently subjugated people and chiefs were ready to fall off from their oppressive

rulers, and welcome and facilitate the approach of the British troops.

To this political advantage was to be added the difficulty of moving large bodies of troops in so rugged a country, of providing them with supplies where the soil was so unproductive, and of keeping up a communication with the lowlands, and in consequence of the deadly miasmata which render the forests on the skirts of the hills utterly impassable during a considerable portion of the year. It was therefore determined by Lord Moira to prefer the latter plan, and operating upon the Kali river, which severed the Goorkha possessions nearly in two, as a centre, to direct his first efforts against the western portion, whilst other divisions were to move against the eastern half, and advance into the Valley of Nepaul.*

With these views, four separate divisions

* Lord Moira's Letter to the Chairman, 6th August, 1816.—(*Nepaul Papers*, 994.) The military policy of the Court of Directors differed from that of his Lordship. In their estimation, the preservation of British

were formed which were to ascend the hills at as many places, as soon as the rains had sufficiently subsided to allow of their forward movement. The first of the divisions, comprising about six thousand men under the command of Major-General Ochterlony, was destined to attack the Goorkha positions at the western extremity of their line. The second, three

honour and the integrity of the territories might have been secured "by the employment of one concentrated body of troops;" meaning, apparently in this place, their employment on the defensive. In a subsequent paragraph they advocate a similar mode of conducting offensive operations. "We are inclined to the opinion, from the nature of the resistance opposed by the enemy, that if, instead of dividing our force into so many detachments, a concentrated attack had been made, it might possibly have been the means of bringing the war to a successful conclusion, without looking to the issue of a second campaign." Political Letter to Bengal, 13th October, 1815. At a later date, the Court profess their acknowledgment of the "wisdom of the plan on which Lord Moira had acted." Political Letter to Bengal, 5th March, 1817.—*Ibid.* 998.

thousand five hundred strong, commanded by Major-General Gillespie, was intended to occupy the Dehra Dun, a valley above the first range of hills, and besiege Jytak, the principal fortress of the enemy in the province of Goohwal. The third division, of about four thousand five hundred troops, was placed under the orders of Major-General John Sullivan Wood, and was to march from the Goruckpore frontier through the long-disputed districts of Bhotwal and Sheoraj to Palpah. The fourth, and most considerable division, comprehending nearly eight thousand men, commanded by Major-General Marley, was to make the most effectual impression on the enemy, and was to march through Muckwanpore directly to Khatmandoo. Arrangements were made at the same time for the defence of the interjacent parts of the British frontier by local corps; and at the south-eastern end of the line east of the Kasi river, Captain Latter, commanding the Rungpore local battalion and a battalion of Regular

Native Infantry, was directed to convert a defensive into an offensive attitude, should circumstances be favourable to the change.

The whole force amounted to more than thirty thousand men, with sixty guns.* To

* The details of the several divisions were as follows:

1st Division, Artillery, European and Native	950	
Native Infantry (2nd battalion 1st, 2nd battalion 6th, 2nd battalion 3rd, 1st battalion 19th, and six companies of the 2nd battalion 19th)	4778	
Pioneers	265	
Ordnance, two 18-pounders, ten 6-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.		
		5993
2nd Division, Artillery	247	
H.M. 53rd Regiment	785	
Native Infantry (1st battalion 6th, 1st battalion 17th, 1st battalion 7th)	2348	
Pioneers	133	
Ordnance, two 12-pounders, eight 6-pounders, four howitzers.		
		3513
		[3rd Div.

oppose so formidable an armament, the Goorkhas in the beginning of the war could not muster more than twelve thousand regular troops, which were scattered along the intended

3rd Division, 8th Native Cavalry . . .	114
Artillery	457
H.M. 17th Regiment	958
Native Infantry (left wings of both battalions of the 14th, 2nd, battalion 17th, four companies 2nd battalion, 8th and 2nd battalion 12th)	2875
Pioneers	90
Ordnance, four 6-pounders, three 3-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.	
	——4494

4th Division, Artillery	868
H.M. 24th Regiment	907
Native Infantry (1st battalion 18th, left wing 2nd battalion 22nd, 2nd battalion 15th, 2nd battalion 25th, Ramgorh local battalion, Champarau Light Infantry	5988

[Pioneers.

length of their frontier. They were augmented during the war by levies of local militia; but these were without discipline, imperfectly equipped, and were not always well-affected to their rulers, as they were often raised from the subjects of the conquered hill-states. A few forts, strongly situated, but in other respects of little importance, commanded the principal passes of the mountains. The main strength of the Goorkhas consisted in the spirit of the government, the bravery and devotedness of the regular troops, the impracticability of the country,

Pioneers	276
Ordnance, four 18-pounders, four 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, 12 mortars and howitzers	7989
Total sixty-eight guns and men.	
	21989

Considerable reinforcements joined the two first divisions, besides irregular troops and native contingents, to the extent of above 12,000 men.—*Nepaul Papers*, 719, 432.

the inexperience of their adversaries in mountain warfare, and their ignorance of the ground on which they were to move, and of the character of the people with whom they were to contend.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR CONTINUED.

THE third division consisting of three thousand men, under General Gillespie, made the first movement, and commenced active operations with little delay. The General not having joined, the troops moved under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mawby, of Her Majesty's 53rd foot, from Seharunpore, whereto they had been previously ordered from Meerut, and on the 22nd October cleared the Timbee Pass, through the first range of hills into the Dhoon, and took up a position at Deegrah, the chief town of the valley, about

five miles distant from the foot of Kalunga or Nalapanee.

This fort is situated on an isolated hill, about five or six hundred feet high, covered with jungle, and in most places very steep. The table-land on the top may be about three quarters of a mile in length; and on the southern and highest extremity of the hill was Kalunga built. It was an irregular fortification, following the form of the ground, and at this time was imperfect, the wall not having been fully raised, but they were busily engaged in heightening and strengthening it.

It was commanded by Bhulbudder Sing, nephew of Umur Sing; and he had with him three or four hundred men, chiefly of the regular troops of Nepaul.

A letter was sent to this chief summoning him to surrender the fort. The manner in which he received this summons was rather characteristic, and gave foretaste of the steady coolness with which they defended the place. The note was delivered to him at midnight

and he tore it up, observing that it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours; but sent his "Salaam" to the English Sirdar, assuring him that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp.

On the next day Colonel Mawby reconnoitered the place, and having carried up two 6-pounders and two howitzers on elephants, made an attempt to carry the fort by assault. After firing a few rounds however, this was declared impracticable, and the party retreated.

General Gillespie now joined and took the command. The place was reconnoitered, and dispositions were immediately made for the assault.

Parties were employed in preparing fascines and gabions for the erection of batteries; and two 12-pounders, four $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch howitzers, and four 6-pounders were carried up the hill on elephants.

The table land was taken without any resistance on the part of the enemy; and batteries for the above-mentioned were ready

to open on the fort on the morning of the 31st of October, at six hundred yards distance.

The storming-party was formed into four columns and a reserve; the first, under Colonel Carpenter, consisted of six hundred and eleven officers and men; the second, under Captain Fast, of three hundred and sixty-three officers and men; the third, under Major Kelly, of five hundred and forty-one officers and men; the fourth, under Captain Campbell, of two hundred and eighty-three officers and men; the reserve, under Major Ludlow, of nine hundred and thirty-eight officers and men. These were so disposed as to ascend at a given signal, (the firing of a gun), from different points, and thus to distract the attention of the enemy from attending too much to any one point.

The enemy had on his side taken what precaution his situation offered him the means of. The well of the fort had been raised, though it was not then quite finished, so as to render it difficult, if not impossible to gain

the top without ladders, even in the lowest part. Every point where the fort was approachable, or thought weak, was covered by stockades, formed of stones and stakes stuck in the ground, a species of fortification in which the Goorkhas are very highly skilled. Guns were placed where they could do execution, and at a wicket left open, but so barred as to render entrance exceedingly difficult, and which covered a great part of the wall, a gun was placed to enfilade the approach with showers of grape. The batteries kept up a warm and well-directed fire upon the foot, but the execution was not equal to expectation, and this, perhaps, uniting with eagerness of sanguine temper, induced General Gillespie to give the signal for the assault some hours sooner than intended, and which, probably from being unexpected, was not heard by either Major Kelly, Captain Campbell, or Captain Fast.

The column under Colonel Carpenter, and the reserve under Major Ludlow, then moved forward to the assault at nine o'clock, and

carried the stockades surrounding the fort, putting to death, or driving in, the small party of the enemy that occupied them. They pushed on to the walls, under a heavy fire from the garrison, and suffered severely in officers and men. The few that reached them called out for ladders, which were not at first to be had. Lieutenant Ellis of the Pioneers, was shot whilst applying the first ladder, himself at the head of the first division, and many were killed and wounded with him. The obstacles were found too great to overcome, so that after long exposure and dreadful loss, the brave troops were compelled to fall back under shelter of a village in the rear.

The General seeing this, and being determined to surmount all difficulties moved on from the batteries with three fresh companies of the 53rd Regiment, and reached a spot within thirty yards of the wicket, where, as he was cheering the men, waving his cap in one hand and his sword in the other, he received a shot in the left breast and fell dead on

the spot. An entrance being found impracticable, Colonel Carpenter, on whom the command devolved after the death of Gillespie, directed our force to retreat. Both columns suffered much from the gun before spoken of as placed in the wicket, when the reserve advanced and got within the line it defended; the first discharge brought down the whole front rank, killing seven and wounding eleven. Several men penetrated to this very wicket but could produce no effect. A very heavy fire was kept up from the walls of the garrison, and showers of arrows and stones were discharged at the assailants, and many severe wounds were received from stones which they threw very dexterously; the women were seen occupied in throwing them, and undauntedly exposing their persons.

Our loss was severe; besides the lamented General, four officers were killed and fifteen wounded, some of whom subsequently died. Twenty-seven non-commissioned officers and men were killed and two hundred and thirteen

wounded. After the repulse, the army lay inactive till the arrival of the battering train from Delhi, which did not take place until the 24th of November, and on the 25th active operations were renewed.

By one o'clock on the 27th the batteries, which had been erected within three hundred yards of the wall, had effected a large and fully practicable breach, and although a warm fire had been kept up by the besieged, we had hardly sustained any loss. Shells had been thrown with great effect, and although the enemy had attempted a sally on the 27th, they were driven back with loss. The commander, Colonel Mawby, satisfied that the breach was practicable, ordered a storm.

The storming-party was composed of the Grenadiers of the detachment, with the Light Company of the 53rd, led by Major Ingleby of that regiment. They advanced to the breach and were exposed for two hours to a tremendous fire from the garrison, which destroyed many officers. Our soldiers advanced to the breach

with perfect self-possession and coolness, a few got to the crest and fell there. The officers exposed themselves most gallantly and unreservedly. Lieutenant Harrington of H.M. 53rd was killed on the breach; Lieutenant Luxford of the Horse Artillery having brought up a gun to the breach to destroy the defences of the enemy within, received a shot through his body, of which he died; and besides these there were many officers wounded. By the official return there were three officers killed, eight wounded; thirty-eight men killed, four hundred and forty wounded and missing—an awful number where the opponents did not equal these alone.

The fire from the batteries recommenced the next day, and shells were again thrown, the effect of which was so dreadful from the unprotected state of the garrison and from the demolished state of the defences, that the few and faint survivors, not exceeding seventy in number, abandoned the place on the night of the 30th, and fighting their way through the

chain of posts placed to intercept them, escaped with the loss of a few men, pursued by Major Ludlow with a party.

At three o'clock that morning Major Kelly entered and took possession of the fort, and there indeed the desperate courage and bloody resistance they had opposed to means so overwhelming, were mournfully and horribly apparent. The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house strewed with the bodies of the dead and wounded, and the dissevered limbs of those who had been torn to pieces by the bursting of shells! those who yet lived piteously called for water, of which they had not tasted for days. The stench from the place was dreadful; many of the bodies of those who had been killed had been insufficiently interred, and our officers found in the ruins the remains and clothes of several thus incompletely covered starting into view.

The bodies of several women killed by shot and shells, and even children mangled by the same ruthless engines, but yet alive, were

discovered. One woman who had lost her leg was found and sent to hospital, where she recovered. A young child was picked up who had been shot by a musket-ball through both thighs, and who also perfectly recovered; and there was also a fine boy of only three or four years old, whose father, a native officer, had been killed, and who was left in the fort when it was evacuated, he was unhurt and taken care of. The determined resolution of the little party that held this small post for more than a month against comparatively so large a force, must surely claim universal admiration, especially when the horrors of the latter portion of this time are considered.

The dismal spectacle of their slaughtered comrades, the sufferings of their women and children, thus immured with themselves, and the hopelessness of relief, which destroyed any other motive for the obstinate defence they made, than that resulting from a high sense of duty, supported by unsubdued courage. This and a generous spirit of courtesy towards the

enemy, certainly marked the garrison of Kalunga during the period of its siege; whatever the nature of the Goorkhas may have been found in other quarters, there was here no cruelty to wounded or prisoners—no poisoned arrows were used—no wells of water poisoned—no rancorous spirit of revenge seemed to animate them. They fought in fair conflict like men, and in the intervals of actual combat, shewed us a liberal courtesy worthy of a more enlightened people; so far from insulting the bodies of the dead and wounded, they permitted them to be untouched till carried away; and none were stripped as is too usually the case. The confidence they exhibited in the British officers was certainly flattering. They solicited and obtained surgical aid, and on one occasion this gave rise to a singular and interesting scene. While the batteries were playing, a man was perceived on the beach advancing and waving his hand. The guns ceased, for a while, and a man came from the batteries; he proved to be a Goorkha, whose lower jaw had been shattered by a round shot,

and who came thus frankly to solicit assistance from his enemy.

It is unnecessary to add that it was instantly afforded. He recovered, and when discharged from the hospital signified his desire to return to his corps to combat us again; exhibiting thus through the whole a strong sense of the value of generosity and courtesy in warfare, and also of his duty to his country, separating completely in his own mind private and national feeling from each other. The remainder of the garrison of Kalunga with their commander Bhulbudder Sing, to the number of about seventy, retreated to a hill some miles off, where they were joined by three hundred men who had lingered in the neighbourhood for some days, endeavouring to throw themselves into the fort.

Major Ludlow with the force under his command, amounting to about four hundred men, moved on the afternoon of the 1st December to attack and dislodge them: he came up with them after a very fatiguing march, about one in

the morning of the 2nd, on very difficult ground on the hill where they had encamped for the night. They were on the alert, and the sentinel challenged our men, who rushed forward and fell on them, and dispersed them with much loss. They fled, pursued by our troops to the summit of the hill, where it was found necessary to desist and collect our men. Had they halted here, the end desired would have been obtained; but flushed with success that had been so easy, the few leading troops, in spite of the exertions of the officers to restrain them, still dashed on to occupy a further and stronger stockade, known afterwards, during the siege, as the second stockade—a very straggling line following them; the consequence was, as might be expected, that the enemy, alarmed by the first firing, had sent strong reinforcements towards the point attacked; and by the time the second stockade was endangered, these had nearly reached it.

Jespau Quarrè, the officer in command, see-

ing the disordered state of our troops and how few of them were together, sallied out from the stockade with no great number of men, bore down the leading troops who were running up the hill, put the rest to flight, and pursued them along the ridge which they had before won. Reinforced by fresh troops, the enemy followed up the charge, and our men, out of breath and panic-struck, could not be rallied. Major Ludlow and the other officers did all that was possible to make a stand; three times at rather favourable points, was it attempted to rally them, but as often, the Goorkhas coming up, they broke and fled; and at last, at the point were the crest had first been gained, our men dispersed down the hill on both sides, the Goorkhas following and cutting them up. The Goorkhas were at this moment swarming round the hill. The night was darkening around. The men were weary with their long march and a six hours' combat, and were exhausted by a want of water which there had been no means of

procuring for several hours. A retreat could not have been attempted under more unfavourable circumstances. The moment that the enemy saw our troops quitting the hill, they rushed in on all sides cutting down the stragglers. The ground was so steep and broken that it was impossible long to preserve order. Whilst descending a steep defile, the Goorkhas knowing the ground, attacked a party in advance, and thus caught our men in a double fire.

They then made their way in on all sides, and using the kookery, committed sad havoc. Lieutenant Thackery, of the 26th N.I., covered the retreat as well as it could be done under the confounding circumstances of the darkness and broken ground, till he and Ensign Wilson were killed with many men. The detachment, scattered and worn out, reached camp on the morning of the 2nd.

Our loss was severe, but it was not ascertained for several days, being lessened greatly

by the return of stragglers; at length it was reduced to four officers killed, five wounded—seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and two hundred and eighty-one wounded.

CHAPTER X.

THE WAR CONTINUED.

Sir David Ochterlony, who took the field at the same time with Gillespie, was opposed to one of the best officers in the Nepaul army. Umur Sing, in person, formed, from the first, a just estimate of the character of his enemy, and the difficulties he would have to contend with; he, therefore, resolved to proceed with caution, and on the 31st of October, the day Gillespie was killed at Kalunga, he reached Plasseea, situated in a valley within the hills which he entered from the Sutlej by a pass less difficult than those further east. Umur Sing was at this time at Urkee, considerably within the

hills; they run here in broken ridges, stretching N.N.W., and each ridge affords a series of positions; the outermost ridge was surmounted by the fort of Nalaghur, which, with an outpost, commanded the principle route into the hills. On the next range stood three small forts, above this again towered the heights of Maloun, and near which was the capital of Umur Sing's staunch ally, the Rajah of Belaspore.

Having garrisoned the forts of Nalaghur Hills, and reckoning that Ochterlony would be some time occupied before them, he was in no hurry to leave his position. Sir David, however, resolved on hazarding nothing, invested Nalaghur with his heavy guns on the 1st November; having breached the wall, the garrison surrendered on the 5th. Having established depôts at the captured forts, Sir David proceeded on the 13th against the Ramgurh positions, sending on Colonel Thompson with a brigade one day's march in advance.

The position of Ramgurh was so steep on the sides next the plains, that Sir David

determined to turn it, if possible, and act on its rear; these ridges, it may be observed, are all so many steps to the vast Himalaya snowy range; each, therefore, as it nears that stupendous range, towers over that before it, and as you look from the plains, the steeper side is always opposed to you. Ramgurh stood nearly in the centre of the ridge, and formed Umur Sing's right; and Ochterlony, in advancing from Nalaghur, turned his left, and in November had seized a point from which he hoped to be able to batter one of the stockades of that wing. By the end of November, after incessant labour, in making roads and dragging up guns, a battery was constructed; but when it opened, the stockade was found to be almost out of range, and the shots had little effect. Lieutenant Lawtie, the engineer, observing this, advanced with a small party to reconnoitre another point further on; the Goorkhas sallied out to prevent it, and obliged him to seek the shelter of a wall that stood near: his critical situation being perceived, Lieutenant Williams

was sent with two companies from the battery to support the reconnoissance, but a much larger body came down to the Goorkhas and surrounded the whole party, who thus found themselves under the necessity of fighting their way through the enemy to secure their retreat. The movement was successfully executed, but with the loss of poor Williams, who was killed besides seventy-five Sepoys.

This affair was of no further consequence than it gave the enemy an occasion of triumph. The Nepaulese, however, permitted us the next day to remove and bury the dead, a courtesy they certainly never refused us during the war. Sir David Ochterlony was busily engaged all this while in surveying and improving the roads, and reconnoitering Umur Sing's position on every side. By the first week in December, he was enabled to form a plan of attack, the object of which was to make a lodgment on a point within the position; the proposed advance was to be made from the battery above mentioned, and was a dangerous under-

taking in consequence of there being but one road to the position, and that laid under fire of one of Umur Sing's principal stockades, which the advancing column would have to receive on its flank, probably followed by a sally from the garrison as it passed. However, seeing no other way of inflicting a heavy blow on the enemy, Sir David submitted the plan to his two Brigadiers, Arnold and Thompson to obtain their opinion of it. The propriety of making the attack was still under deliberation when the news arrived of our second failure before Kalunga, and Ochterlony hearing of a reinforcement being on its way to his own force by direction of Lord Hastings, determined to abandon the plan and to hazard nothing. Sir David at this time had many serious doubts of our ultimate success in the struggle, and he feared that our native army with its well known courage, and gallant officers, would be found ill adapted to a protracted warfare in a country too rugged to admit its discipline being brought in play. The gallant old general,

however, expressed his apprehensions on this point to none but the Commander-in-chief, nor could his most familiar associates detect in his manner the slightest interruption of that cheerful flow of spirits for which Sir David was characterized through life.

Sir David, while waiting the arrival of his reinforcements, successfully exerted himself in obtaining the services of the small chief of Plaseea, and usefully employed him in making a road for artillery N.N.E. of Ramgurh, where his head-quarters were for some time fixed. This was previous to his attempting any operations in Umur Sing's rear. About the end of December, another battalion of Native Infantry, with a train of light guns joined Ochterlony's force; he detached Colonel Thompson with two regiments and guns to attack two stockades that were opposed to his right, and were situated on a spur from the Ramgurh ridge projecting N.E. in the Goorkha commander's rear. These stockades were if possible to be carried at once, and another point on

which there was no stockade was to be occupied by Thompson's detachment, who moved off in the night, and late in the morning arrived near the first stockade, but delayed carrying it by a *coup-de-main*; he therefore moved on and occupied a ridge about eight hundred yards distant from a stone work thrown up by the enemy, and which was within a few hundred yards of the second stockade to be attacked. Here he halted for his guns to come up; on their arrival opened on the Deboo ki Tibia stockade until dark, hoping to effect a breach, but the rude defences of this nature quickly thrown up by the Nepaulese are often proof against light artillery, consequently no great impression was made, and Colonel Thompson was obliged to be satisfied by establishing himself on the ridge.

The Nepaulese not liking his close proximity, evacuated this stockade in the night, which was accordingly taken possession of by a party of our troops unopposed. The Nepaulese, however, employed themselves during the night in

concentrating their force, preparatory to a determined effort to dislodge our detachment. Accordingly, at the Nepaulese favourite hour of attack, viz., just before daybreak, they made a simultaneous rush from a stockade which crowned the heights of the Ramgurh ridge, at the point where it was joined by that on which Deboo was situated. The detachment, however, was well prepared for them, and drove back the Nepaulese with considerable loss, killing and wounding nearly three hundred of them, our loss being very small, twelve only killed, and fifty wounded, without an officer being touched. Sir David, on hearing the firing, sent a small force to reinforce the post. By the end of December, it was re-stockaded and well secured.

It must here be noticed that Ramgurh formed the Goorkha commander's right, as his position fronted the plains. Colonel Thompson's post was in the rear of his centre, so as almost entirely to intercept his supplies and interfere with his communications. On

ascertaining this, the Nepaulese general changed his ground, leaving all his stockades to the left of Ramgurh, and keeping that fort still at his right, took up a reversed position on the other side of it, so as to show a new front to our force, which had turned his left. The Goorkha commander likewise strengthened his head-quarters, Mungoo ki Dar. It was soon ascertained that the ridge which Thompson had occupied did not afford any means of approaching the enemy's main position, in consequence of the ground being particularly rugged; consequently, a different plan of operations became necessary; and about the middle of January, Ochterlony, still wishing to straighten the enemy's supplies, which, since the occupation of the Urkee and Subathoo roads, had been entirely drawn from Belaspore, executed a most masterly movement, by which he subsequently reduced Rutungurh, a fort, although separated from the ridge, lying directly between the heights of Maloun and Belaspore. Much time was consumed in reducing the Ramgurh forts, and

Ochterlony employed himself during the interval in bringing over the Belaspore Rajah; who, after some unsuccessful attempts to help the Goorkhas, had fled across the Sutlej. This Rajah, though connected with the Goorkha commander's family by a recent marriage, was at last induced, through the fear of losing his capital, to make terms and submit.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR CONTINUED.

I MUST now return to the more interesting operations in the Turais of Goruckpore and Tirhoot, with one parting word regarding Umur Sing, who not only proved himself a brave soldier, but often a very sagacious one, by the way in which he had often met and sometimes defeated the plans of the British commanders.

The division assembled at Goruckpore, was ordered to take the field by the middle of November, but was delayed in consequence of the great difficulty of obtaining hill-porters in that then thinly peopled district. It was there-

fore near the end of December, ere General Wood proceeded to the Turai, and having been detained for some time in obtaining information as to the best route for penetrating to Palpa, he first determined on leaving Bhotwal to the right, and attacking Nyakote, a post which crowns the hills to the west of the town. Ascertaining, however, that the Nepaulese under Wuzeer Sing, a nephew of Bhim Sen's, had posted himself at the mouth of the pass, in which Bhotwal is situated, and had thrown up a stockade, it was determined to reconnoitre and carry them, if possible, before proceeding further.

The first week in January, General Wood broke ground at Simra with two regiments of infantry to execute this plan; acting on the information of a Brahmin spy, in the employ of some of the old Palpa Rajah's family residing at Goruckpore, the priest offering himself as a guide. The route ran along the banks of the Tenavee, and the last seven miles through a Saal Forest; but General Wood had been led

to expect an open space about the stockade. The General himself was with his advance guard, in the thick of the forest, when they suddenly found themselves in front of the stockade, and not more than fifty yards off, which immediately opened a very destructive fire on the advancing party, and the General, Brigade-Major and engineer officer were both wounded, the latter mortally. This loss was sustained in attempting to reconnoitre the post, preparatory to the advance of the main column headed by her Majesty's 17th Regiment of foot.

Immediately on its arrival, the officer commanding advanced against the stockade driving in the party who had sallied out against our advanced guard. The officer commanding the grenadiers followed the Goorkhas up the hill, and succeeded in ascending with his own, and two other companies of the regiment, by the left of the enemy's work; thus a position was gained that commanded it entirely, for it was only a hollow stockade running along the slope of the hill. The carrying of the work was

certain; indeed the enemy were already retreating from it up the hill behind. General Wood, however, thinking it was not possible to carry the hill also, while without doing so, the stockade itself seemed to him to be untenable, he ordered the retreat to be sounded to the great disappointment of his troops who were flushed with the certainty of an easy victory. Our loss in killed and wounded did not exceed a hundred and thirty, the Nepaulese lost a Sidar named Sooreg Thappa, and many more men than we did: but our retreat gave to them the triumph of a victory.

The result of this action, and the bravery the Nepaulese had displayed left on the British General's mind an impression of the inefficiency of his force for the objects assigned to it, and which, unfortunately, influenced all his future measures. Instead of at once endeavouring to penetrate the hills, he confined his operations to defensive precautions; and at his solicitation parties of irregular cavalry were added to his force, to repel the enemy's numerous incursions

on the plains. Native reports magnified the Nepaul army to twelve thousand men, instead of which, at that place, their regulars were scarcely as many hundreds; and the General crediting these reports, threw up works at a small post on the direct road to Goruckpore to defend it, while he moved with his main force to impel an incursion into Nichloul. Such movements contributed only to make the enemy bolder, besides producing considerable alarm in our own subjects, which it must be admitted was not altogether unfounded, for scarcely a day passed without some British village being plundered and burnt by the Nepaulese. This state of things continued during the three really available months for punishing the Nepaulese, viz: January, February, and March; and even though in the latter month reinforced, by another native battalion and some artillery, General Wood still hesitated to act offensively. Unfortunately what had happened simultaneously on this frontier, and to the eastward, tended to confirm the enemy's impression of our timidity.

I must now relate the operations in that quarter.

Major Paris Bradshaw, our negociator, remained during the rains in military charge of the frontier, and the disputed lands of Sumroun; as I have before mentioned, his established posts were not molested, nor had he many communications with the Nepaulese until October, when some alarm began to be entertained at Khatmandoo at the extensive preparations making by us, and although determined to concede nothing if possible, still thought they it worth their while to try and amuse the British government with further negotiations, so as, if possible, to spin out the season of operations in idle discussion.

In the month of November, Chunder Seekur Opadeea came down to the Turai and sent information to our frontier political officer that he had a letter and presents for the Governor-General, and desiring a passport to enable him to proceed to Calcutta with them, a piece of assurance, and at such a

time, that a Goorkha alone would have perpetrated, in proof of which it will hardly be believed, that the letter in his possession was one of congratulation, and in the form usual on the arrival of a new Governor-General, and was written as if there were no matters whatever in dispute between the two governments. Our political officer sent Chunder Seekur a copy of the proclamation of war, issued on the first of the month, and refused to let any one pass, or to receive the Brahmin himself, unless he came furnished with full powers to treat for peace. The letter was duly forwarded to the Governor General, who approved of the political agent's proceedings, and directed that Chunder Seekur be requested to return to Khatmandoo, or remain on the frontier at his peril.

Notwithstanding this intimation, Chunder Seekur lingered in the Turai, and attempted surreptitiously to obtain a passport from the Tirhoot magistrate, who he fancied would not be aware of the circumstances, and was

still intriguing for this purpose, when Major Bradshaw, having heard of General Marley's crossing the Ganges on his way to Turai, resolved to defer active operations no longer, but to attack the Nepaulese post of Burhurwa, situated on the right bank of the Bhagmuttee river, and close to the frontier, preparatory to occupying the whole Turai for the British government. Accordingly, he concentrated his force at the end of November, and on the morning of the 25th, surprized and carried the post, killing the Nepaulese commander Pursuram Thappa, and making prisoner of Chunder Seekur with his attendants. Bradshaw, by this means, obtained possession of the Brahmin's instructions, which entered fully into the points at issue between the two governments, and completely showed the real object of the deputation to have been merely to gain time.

The Nepaulese pretended to be very indignant at the seizure of the Brahmin, who they now wished to say should have been respected

as an ambassador, since he had been deputed as such; conveniently forgetting, however, that the reception of the individual or the sanctioning of his deputation at least, is the thing that plights the faith of the government to whom an agent is accredited, and that this alone gives a claim to the respect of *person* enjoyed by the envoy of a hostile power, and distinguishes him from a spy.

Lieutenant Boileau, who commanded the political agent's escort, a very gallant and distinguished officer, was wounded in a personal conflict with Pursuram Thappa, during the affair. The Turai was immediately evacuated by the Goorkhas, and occupied and annexed *pro tempore* by proclamation to the British dominions, Major Bradshaw establishing the following posts for its defence until General Marley should arrive: the head-quarters of the Chumparun Light Infantry was posted at Baragurhee; a wing of Native Infantry at Sumunpore, to the right, while Captain Sibley was stationed with five hundred men at Pursa,

on the high road to Hounda, a good way to the left of Baragurhee.

General Marley arrived at the Turai with the principal part of his division, about the middle of December. An outpost had been driven in by the Nepaulese in the early part of the month, and though they kept within cover of the forests, had shewn early symptoms for active hostile operations. Their attempts at poisoning the wells and pools were discovered, and their spies were known to be actively engaged, many having been detected in our camp. General Marley formed his army into three divisions, intending to force the pass in person, by Bichako, with about two thousand men, while Colonel Dick, with about fifteen hundred, took the route of Hurreehurpoor to the eastward, and Major Roughsedge, with twelve hundred men, moved by the Sukteeduree Pass, which is between the other two. The rest of the force was to be ready to support either division that might need it, and keep open the communications through the forests

till the arrival of the brigade allotted to this duty had arrived.

The month of December, unfortunately, was spent in devising this plan, and in collecting information for its execution; in the meantime the main army was stationary, and, except that Major Roughsedge was at one time sent to the extreme right, the force remained as before. That commanded by Captain Sibley was twenty miles to the left of the main army, and Captain Blackney was nearly as far to the right, and both without support; and notwithstanding the length of time they had occupied their ground, no efforts had been made by either officer to fortify his position. The consequence of this was, the Nepaulese determined on a simultaneous attack on both positions.

The main army of the Nepaulese was collected at Muckwanpore, opposite the British outpost of Mullye, and commanded by Rundher Sing, and the forest was in possession of different parties, who were always on the alert, and Rundher having exact intelligence of the

positions occupied by Sibley and Blackney, ordered them both to be attacked at daylight on New Year's Day. Shumshere Rana, or the Rana Kajee, as he is now known in Nepaul, commanded the party sent against Pursa, and Surbjeet Thappa that which attacked Sumunpore. Both were styled captains; viz., commandants of independant companies, or corps, in the Nepaul service, and were well known by their countrymen for their determined bravery and skill. Captain Blackney was completely taken by surprise by Surbjeet, who attacked him before daylight on the new year. He and his second in command were both killed on the first alarm, and the attack had not lasted ten minutes before our Sepoys, who had but partially rushed to their arms on the alarm, became for the moment panic-stricken; confusion ensued, and the Sepoys at last fled in every direction.

The Nepaulese having now penetrated to the centre of our camp, and set fire to the tents one British officer only escaped: finding all

order gone, he retreated with a small detachment with great difficulty. Our communications having been cut off, it was found impossible to retire to our original position. Captain Sibley, however, was more on his guard at Pursa, where many circumstances had led him to expect an attack — he had indeed only recently reported his apprehensions on this point to General Marley, who, at the end of December, sent him a reinforcement. His post was more than twenty miles distant, as before mentioned, and the detachment having marched the evening before, most unfortunately encamped on the road. On New Year's morning, however, firing having been heard in the direction of Pursa, the officer commanding quickened his march, and got within three miles of the position before the firing ceased. The arrival of fugitives, however, soon explained how the affair had terminated.

It appeared that the Rana Kajee attacked in three columns; but Sibley's advance had been thrown considerably forward, and the ground

of the position lay between two mountain streams, the windings of which allowed the Nepaulese to penetrate sufficiently on either flank, so as to cut off the front and rear communications. The latter was left to the defence of a small body of irregular cavalry, and was consequently a weak point in a night attack.

The first attack was checked by our advanced guard; but the officer commanding finding himself pressed, requested the immediate assistance of a light gun from Captain Sibley, which was with his detachment. Sibley immediately brought it forward himself; but when placed in position, the cartridges unfortunately were found too large to enable it being served efficiently. The action had now commenced on both flanks, and Sibley found it necessary to return immediately, and on his way back was mortally wounded by a shot through the body from parties of the enemy, who, taking advantage of the winding of the mountain

stream, had come close upon our line of communication with the advance. His second in command was now summoned to the front, and as the firing was heavy in his rear, he determined on taking his advance-guard with him. On reaching the line, he found that the Rana Kajee, while he had kept the detachment employed in front and flanks, had made his principal attack from the rear, and having overpowered the irregulars, had penetrated even to the officers' tents, and taken possession of the magazine and bazaar.

The 6-pounder with the detachment had been turned towards the rear by the artillery officer, and on the advance-guard joining, they formed square, and defended themselves as well as they could, but from the cover afforded the Nepaulese by the jungle, they picked off nearly all our artillerymen; and it now became apparent to both the officers, that unless they dislodged the Nepaulese from their position, they would be all annihilated, and on endeavouring

to induce their men to charge, they found them disinclined, and expended nearly all their ammunition by firing at random.

A retreat now was determined on, which was effected with great difficulty by crossing one of the mountain streams at a place where it was barely fordable, but at a time fortunately when the Nepaulese were intent on plunder; many were thus saved, but the two guns, magazine, and stores of every kind fell into the enemy's hands and this detachment, originally consisting of five hundred fighting men, had three hundred and eighty-three of them killed and wounded in a very short time. The activity and enterprise of the Nepaulese in these attacks were so unexpected by General Marley, that he began to entertain serious apprehensions for his train of heavy artillery then coming up from Betteah.

Having, however, strengthened his post, the general himself determined upon making a westward movement to cover his train, and further, beginning to consider his force insufficient, at once abandoned all idea of penetrating the hills

in the manner indicated in his instructions. His two brigadiers, however, agreed with him in reporting the force under his command not sufficient for offensive measures in the hills. The Marquis of Hastings was grievously disappointed at all these untoward occurrences, and strained every nerve to increase the strength of all the divisions, but particularly this one, from which so much was expected. All the military stations in Upper and Lower India were drained of troops to furnish reinforcements; but although troops were available, it was found a more difficult matter to restore confidence in the mind of the commander.

General Marley, notwithstanding the high state of the equipments of his army, and the daily approach of fresh troops, remained totally inactive during the whole of January; he did indeed perform a few marches in the *open* Turai, but never once ventured into the forest. Almost daily orders arrived from head-quarters, urging that some effort at offensive measures should be at once made. When, however, he began

to deliberate upon the plan he ought to adopt, he became distracted by the different opinions entertained by those he was in the habit of consulting, and came in the end to no resolution. A similar fatality, we might add, but only with more dreadful results, attended the chief and his council in later disasters in Affghanistan.

In the meantime, the Nepaulese, growing daily more insolent, burnt several villages belonging to us, at no great distance from our camp, besides threatening immediately to attack Baraghuree, where we had upwards of a thousand men cantoned. They threw up a stockade at Soofee, a short distance from the post, and had become so self-confident from the hesitation on the part of their commander, and their past successes, that orders were issued under the red seal for an immediate attack. Their commander however, Bhuget Sing, was better informed than the council at Khatmandoo, and very wisely for them refrained; the Court, however, were dissatisfied with his reasons, charged him with cowardice, and summoned him to the capital

for disobedience of orders, and on his arrival made him appear in open Durbar attired in woman's clothing, as wanting the spirit and courage of a Goorkha. The Nepaulese, however soon found that British petticoats were very deceptive, although to the mortification of our troops, and not much to the credit of the British commander, they continued to insult us with impunity for nearly a month longer.

In the middle of February, General Marley unable longer to endure the irksomeness of his situation, and feeling himself unable to carry out the wishes of his Commander-in-chief, determined upon the sudden and extraordinary resolution of at once leaving his force, and set off before daylight in the morning without notifying his intention to the troops, or even taking any means for providing for the ordinary routine of command during his absence. Lord Hastings had, however, fortunately previously appointed another commander for this force; but the unaccountable step adopted by General Marley seemed to him to demand his imme-

mediate and permanent removal from the staff; he, however, kindly permitted him to invalid.

General George Wood was now ordered up from the Presidency to succeed General Marley; in the meantime the senior Brigadier assumed the command until his arrival. Our operations so far had been a series of disasters; the gallant Ochterlony alone had not been foiled: he was steadily pursuing his plans by slow but certain measures, but had as yet gained no signal advantage over his cautious antagonist. General Martindell's division had failed three times, twice before Kalunga, and the third time before Jythuk. Moreover, the total loss sustained by this division amounted to nearly a third of its numbers that originally took the field from Meerut. The force assembled at Goruckpore had allowed itself to retire before the enemy under circumstances amounting almost to a defeat, and as recorded the Behar division, which was thought strong enough to have penetrated to Khatmandoo, had lost two detach-

ments of five hundred men each, without an equivalent success of any kind.

On the Oude frontier too, our armies wer completely held in check on the outside of th forest, while our territory was insulted with impunity, and most extravagant alarms spread throughout the country. We had lost nothing, it is true, on the Purneah frontier; on the contrary the co-operation of the Sikhim Rajah had been gained, the communication had been opened by an overture on his part, accompanied by a request to be supplied with military stores. In this quarter, also, the attempt made by the Goorkha commander in the Morung, to cut off our outpost stationed there, had failed, and their repulse was highly creditable to our officers and troops; but as the position was evacuated the following day, we had therefore little to boast of in the victory. Major Latter indeed was led by the vigorous nature of the attack to solicit the aid of some reinforcements, then on their way to the Sarun force, and thus by withholding them from their destination,

yielded the enemy some advantage from the attack, notwithstanding its failure.

The alarms of the civil authorities of Tirhoot had produced a similar diversion in that quarter, and it was not until the beginning of March, that the division destined for the main attack was augmented to the full strength proposed for it.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAR CONTINUED.

THE uniform success which had hitherto attended the Nepaulese, produced in the beginning of 1815 an effect on the public mind, in the independent portion of India, which is more easily imagined than described, although naturally jealous of our preponderance and suspicious to a degree of any relinquishment of our pacific policy, the generality of the native powers had so little knowledge of the strength and resources of the Nepaulese, that the war at first excited but little attention, they regarding it as a mere affair with a troublesome frontier Rajah. As

one reverse, however, followed another, speculation became more rife, and the events of the campaign became a subject of greater interest, until at last more than one of the then independent native courts began seriously to think the time had arrived for taking advantage of our reverses.

Runjeet Sing, the ruler of the Punjaub, kept a large army at Lahore, and seemed to threaten us on the N. W., while Ameer Khan collected his Pitān battalions, and made an ambiguous offer of his services from a point only a few marches from Agra. The tone, moreover, assumed in Scindia's Durbar and at Poonah, was anything but conciliatory, and the intrigues then set on foot throughout the whole independent parts of India, and which led eventually to such important results, date their commencement from this period; and in proportion as their existence manifested themselves, it became the more necessary that we should conquer the subsisting difficulty in the hills, for the supremacy of the British

government was now felt to be committed on the issue. The Marquis of Hastings, however, never once doubted the ultimate success of the campaign, and despite the unfavourable aspect of affairs at the commencement of 1815, there were abundant reasons for a just confidence with those who looked beyond the surface, for every check our arms had experienced was clearly owing to a want of due precaution in those who directed the operations, and this was an error as surely remedied as felt. Our several encounters although often unfavourable in their result brought more strength in the lessons of prudence they inculcated than any physical loss we sustained. It must be remarked, the Sepoys at this time had been for a considerable period unused to war, and although open to the influence of panic occasionally from the strangeness of the scene, and the novelty of their situation amidst the forests and mountains of this extraordinary region, soon recovered their want of nerve. The Nepaulese, on the other hand, were

perfectly satisfied with repulsing an attack or cutting off an outpost; they never pushed heir success beyond this, and were too deficient in military science as well as in physical means to assume a superiority in the campaign, or even act offensively on a large scale against any one of our divisions; their tactics in their hills were entirely defensive, so much so that however severely their assailant might suffer from the indiscretion of his first attack, they left him ample time to re-collect his force and approach again with more caution. To the officers of the Bengal army, in particular, the lessons taught in this war were very salutary; precipitancy and want of caution were qualities bred in them by an uninterrupted course of victory, from the days of Clive to those of Lord Lake, they had only to shew themselves and march straight against their enemy to ensure success; they consequently carried into the hills the same contempt of the foe, which their victories in the plains had engendered, and were taught only by dear

bought experience to make sufficient allowance for the entire change of circumstances in this new field of action. It must be allowed, however, that the Nepaulese were a brave enemy, besides having had considerable experience, for they had been continually waging war in their hills for upwards of fifty years, and knew well how to turn everything to the best advantage: caution and judgment were therefore more required against them, than boldness of action or decision.

It must here be remarked, that little advance was made in this campaign, until we had learnt to turn the same advantages to account against the enemy, by which they foiled us so often at the commencement, for with all our experience in Indian warfare, combined with the professional science of Europe, our officers found yet something to learn from the Nepaulese; from them we adopted the plan of stockading posts, which the nature of the campaign frequently rendered it necessary to place beyond the limit of prompt support. Had we adopted this plan

from the first, the detachments of Sibley and Blackney might have been saved. Sir David Ochterlony has the credit of first adopting it in our service, as the source, however, of prudence which occurred to his mind, and not disaster as was the case with others.

A few words will describe our operations on the Goruckpore frontier. General Wood succeeded Marley in February, and singular enough, an event occurred only the day before, that completely paralysed the Nepaulese, giving considerable confidence to our troops. Young Pickersgill, a very active officer in the intelligence department, discovered, while out reconnoitering, a party of about five hundred Nepaulese at no great distance from the British camp; he immediately informed the senior officer, who assumed the command on General Marley's departure, and remained himself with a small escort to watch them. Colonel Dick strengthened Pickersgill's party with some irregular cavalry, following himself with all his picquets, in the hope of cutting off this detachment. The

Nepaulese, who had taken up a good position in a hollow, finding themselves unmolested by Pickersgill, and observing how small was his party, came to the determination of attacking him; just, however, as they had formed from their position for this purpose, they observed ur cavalry, of which arm, they have a most religious horror, and a further support advancing, hesitated, and attempted a precipitate retreat, when Pickersgill waited only to be joined by the cavalry to attack them, and did so most heroically, and cut the whole detachment to pieces. The Nepaulese were so confounded by this affair, that they hastily withdrew from every post they had established in the Turai, and on General Wood arriving next day, he found a free passage through the forest, not a Nepaulese being seen below the hills.

The season was undoubtedly very far gone for anything decisive to be undertaken. There remained, however, a month for him wherein to accomplish something to repair his predecessor's inactivity; and his force were all exceedingly

anxious to be at once led through the forest after the enemy, and even into their hills. Our new commander, fearing that the malarious season had arrived, and that he would be risking thereby the efficiency of his army, which now amounted to thirteen thousand men, contented himself with a long march to the eastward and back again, and by this time the season had actually closed without his seeing an enemy, burning only a few Nepaulese villages in retaliation for their many excesses, and marching wherever he heard the enemy were advancing. He was, however, greatly deceived by false rumours, and could not divest himself of the idea that his force was insufficient to do anything decisive against the Nepaulese commander. He reported to head-quarters that the Nepaulese had a force numerically greater than his own, and on being strongly urged by the Commander-in-chief of the necessity of ascertaining this point by coming at once in contact with the enemy, General Wood, in the month of April, again appeared before

Bhotwal, and on the 17th of that month, after making his dispositions, opened a very useless fire against the place for some hours. This manœuvre, as may be supposed, produced no useful result; the General, however, reported it as a reconnoissance intended to create a diversion by alarming the Nepaulese on this frontier. Meeting with no opposition, he laid waste the Nepaul portion of the Turai, and then marched into cantonments at Goruckpore. Fortunate, however, was it for the British army, that the want of decision and enterprize, shewn by the leaders of the two centre divisions of the army, was confined alone to that branch. Lord Hastings ascertained, while on his tour through Rohilkund, that the province of Kumaon, to the north of it, was nearly destitute of troops, the whole Nepaulese force having been required from thence to oppose the British divisions, operating to the east and west. It occurred to him immediately, that a diversion in this quarter would greatly distract the enemy, by

increasing the points of attack, and would further prevent them sending reinforcements to Jytuck.

It was also well ascertained that the people of these parts of the hills were not only disaffected towards the Nepaulese, but would hail the day when they should be released from their control, for the Nepaulese not only held them in rigorous subjection, but constantly seized not only themselves, but their women and children, and sold them as slaves to enforce their arbitrary exactions; their alienation, therefore, was well calculated upon, as likely greatly to aid the projected enterprize. We had few regular troops at this time to spare, from the threatening attitude of several independent states, while the constant demand for reinforcements to the several divisions already near and in the hills were so urgent as to require every disposable man. Lord Hastings, therefore, determined upon availing himself of the use of the warlike population of Rohilkund, who were principally Patans, a race of soldiers, and trained

from their infancy to the use of the sword and matchlock; brave, but impetuous, and not easily subjected to discipline. Accordingly Rohilla levies were immediately ordered, and officers selected for raising and commanding them.

In February 1815, Colonel Gardner with his new levy, marched from Kasheepore, accompanied by a relation of his in political employ, the Honourable Edward Gardner, who shortly afterwards became our first Resident in Nepaul. By the middle of the month, this force reached the foot of the first pass, dislodging a piquet of the enemies, and from here they first descried a Nepaulese force stockaded on the summit of an elevated position which overlooked the entrance to the pass, while another body of Nepaulese occupied a fort considerably to the right. After reconnoitering the two positions, Gardner determined to force them, and if possible to get before them and Almorah. He effected his object, and encamped for the night at Ookul Danga, and after considerable

skirmishing, by the end of March had pretty well established himself; and reinforcements having arrived to him from Meerut, he by the end of March had out-manœuvred the Nepaulese commander, and found himself established in the rear, and within sight of Almorah.

On the morning of the 23rd, in order to draw off the enemy's attention, a feint was made for attacking a position in front. This was a well-concerted movement, for it was not before twelve o'clock in the day, that the Nepaulese discovered its object by finding the new levies taking up their position at a temple in the rear of them. Gardner, now satisfied with the success of his manœuvre, waited till the following day to see its effect on the enemy; and by two other successful movements, and almost without any loss, effectually established himself in the centre of the province. His conciliatory conduct, and that of the Political Agent, the Honourable Edward Gardner, effectually succeeded in gaining the good-will of the natives of those hills, who not only well supplied the bazaar of his

camp with supplies from their villages in the hills, but also furnished him with useful intelligence of all the enemy's movements.

In the end of March, Lord Hastings determined on effectually supporting Gardner, and to enable him to follow up his successes, sent a force of regular infantry with artillery for this purpose. Colonel Jasper Nicolls, at that time Quarter Master-General of the Queen's troops in India, and afterwards in 1840 Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-chief in India, was selected for this service, and had placed under his command a force of two thousand men, indifferently officered in point of numbers, and ten pieces of artillery. Our operations before Jytuck, combined with the probability that the tranquillity of Central India would not be disturbed that year, were the circumstances alone that enabled the Governor-General to spare the troops of the regular army for this service, but two months previously it would not have been prudent to have done so.

In April, Colonel Nicolls entered the hills and

joined Gardner. On his way, however, he heard of the defeat and capture of Major Hersey, and of the reduction of all the posts he had established to guard the line of the Gogra. The Court of Khatmandoo, deeming all safe for the season to the eastward, determined on an effort to relieve Almorah, and (they hoped) eventually Jytuck; and for this purpose ordered a force into Kumaon, giving the command to Hustee-dul, then governor of the adjoining province of Dotee. Having collected all the detachments of his province, this chief crossed the Kalee about the end of March.

Major Hersey, besides being engaged in blockading one of the principal forts, also attempted the defence of a wider line along the river Kalee than his force justified; his men were too much detached to be made available on an emergency; nevertheless he gallantly hastened to meet the enemy with the few men he had, and fell in with him on the first day's march. His force, being all raw levies, deserted Hersey after the first fire, and he was

wounded and made prisoner, after which all the posts he had garrisoned with these raw Patans were deserted, and the men hastened back to the plains in the utmost confusion. This defeat unfortunately created an unfavourable effect on the inhabitants of the province, and had not the support been on its way to Colonel Gardner, its influence on the raw troops of his force might perhaps have ended by our relinquishing all the advantages hitherto gained.

Colonel Nicolls having been informed of the defeat, and of Hersey's being made prisoner, hastened to join Colonel Gardner, and did so a day or two before the Nepaulese commander rrived with his British prisoner at Almorah. The Nepaulese announced this event by firing a royal salute, which was both heard and seen from the British camp.

About the end of April, the Nepaulese Governor once more left the town with a considerable force upon some expedition, the object of which was not immediately apparent. Our commander observing the movement, dispatched

a force to intercept them ; the two detachments soon found themselves close to one another, and both moving up an eminence ; and it now became a subject of dispute who should first gain it ; the Nepaulese however got up first, but the British advance guard attacked them before they had time to make arrangements for their defence, and were immediately dislodged with considerable loss ; the Nepaulese commander himself being among the killed. Hustee-dul was an active and brave officer, and his loss was severely felt by his nation. After several affairs with the Nepaulese, in which our loss amounted to upwards of two hundred in killed and wounded, and the Nepaulese governor of the province, finding we had taken up a position within seventy yards of the fort of Almorah, and tha his situation was desperate, proposed on the following day a suspension of arms, preparatory to negociating terms of surrender. An armistic was granted, and the Nepaulese wounded officers came boldly into our camp to solicit surgical aid ; they informed us without reserve of thei

extreme want of supplies, and allowed us to examine even the walls and defences of the place, thus showing a confidence not a little remarkable under their circumstances, and not at all in keeping with the usual mode of their proceeding. In discussing the terms of the capitulation, they made a rather determined stand to obtain an article in the proposed treaty, permitting five hundred men, destined by the government of Khatmandoo, to proceed westward to reinforce Runjoor Sing at Jytuck. This of course was resisted, but they would not give up the point until threatened with the renewal of hostilities, if the surrender was concluded by a given hour.

At last, on the 27th of April, a formal convention was signed by Colonel Nicolls and the Honourable Edward Gardner, on our part, and Chountra Bumsah and two other chiefs on the behalf of Nepaul. In this, the surrender of the province of Kumaon with all its fortified places was stipulated; and further, the retirement of all troops and officers of the Nepaul govern-

ment, within ten days, to the east of the River Kalee, the British engaging to furnish carriage for private property. Major Hersey's unconditional release was further stipulated. These articles were faithfully executed, and Colonel Nicolls having accompanied the surrendering troops of Nepaul to the Ghats of the Kalee River, disposed his force in the best manner, for the defence of that line, against any future attempt of the Nepaulese to molest our possession of the province.

The affairs on this frontier having now been settled, General Martindell's proceedings must be noticed. He, after the failures in December on the Sarun frontier, became so firmly persuaded of the insufficiency of his force to do anything against the position of Jytuck, a most formidable position it is true, that he lay perfectly inactive at Nahn. In the interim, several reinforcements reached him, besides which the Commander-in-chief kept continually urging him to the re-commencement of active operations. Towards the beginning of February, a

light battalion was detached from Nahn to occupy the post of Nounee, and being supported by another battalion, Major Kelly advanced to a point called Black Hill. This post being within range of our heavy guns, it was determined to carry up some 18-pounders to batter the first of the stockades; the side of the hill was pioneered for the purpose, and by great exertions guns and stores were taken up this most difficult ascent, the operation exciting considerable astonishment. The Nepaulese ventured as near as they dare to witness it, but made no attempt to prevent it. In the meantime, Runjoor Sing's communications were left quite open, and besides the reinforcements carried to him by Bhulbudder Sing, others were continually joining.

In February, intelligence reached camp of a party being on its way to Jytuck from the Jumna; an officer was accordingly detached with a body of irregular cavalry to intercept it: not finding the enemy at the point expected, he returned; but more correct intelligence having

been obtained, he again marched with all the irregulars, amounting to upwards of two thousand men, and found the Nepaulese strongly posted. Not deeming it advisable to trust his raw recruits, with an immediate attack on the position, and relying on his superiority of numbers, he posted detachments where he thought they could most annoy the enemy and cut off communications with Jytuck. The Nepaulese force did not amount to two hundred men, but finding their situation a desperate one, they determined to fight for it, and perish in the attempt. Having prepared themselves, they advanced quietly, and when quite close delivered their fire. They charged, khokery in hand (their war-knife), the nearest post of irregulars. These unfortunately became panic stricken and gave way immediately, and were pursued in the utmost confusion by the Nepaulese to the next post, where the panic also quickly spread, until the whole party took to flight in spite of the utmost efforts of their officers to induce them to face the enemy.

This unlooked-for result of their intrepidity enabled the Nepaulese to continue the march to Jytuck without further opposition, and gave them so much confidence, that they never afterwards failed to attack *irregulars* whenever placed within their reach, and often when stockaded.

The 18-pounders from the Black Hill were opened against the first stockade in the middle of March, and in a few days a battery was erected in a more advanced position. The effect of one day's fire of the last battery was to level to the ground the whole stockade; but the General, instead of following up the advantage by an immediate attack, which all the troops were eagerly expecting, came now to the conclusion that his present plan was an injudicious one; for that if carried, he said, the post could not be maintained against the force Runjoor could bring up in rear of it.

It must thus be recorded, that with an European regiment, and a force of at least five thousand regulars, the Major-General still

thought it a dangerous step to bring on a general action with an enemy, who had never more than two thousand five hundred men at the utmost. This excessive caution was the unfortunate consequence of the earlier disasters related; but it was a feeling that none of the officers or troops of the division participated with the General, and under the circumstances was quite unwarranted. The vacillation exhibited, in the adoption and abandoning of these different plans, was strongly commented on by the Commander-in-Chief. It seemed to him that the practicability of reducing the stockades by battering them in succession, could as well have been determined upon before bringing up the guns, and unnecessarily wasting so much labour and ammunition, whereby more than a month would have been saved for the prosecution of any other plan.

After relinquishing the hope of gaining any useful end by the heavy artillery, the General, about the end of March, determined on surrounding Runjoor by detachments, and thus

blockading and starving him out. Sir David Ochterlony, he now perceived, had effected much by directing his efforts against the supplies of the enemy, and there could be but little doubt of the efficacy of the same system at Jytuck, though the end of March was rather late in the season to commence such an operation.

In execution of this new plan, a post was seized on the eastern ridge connected with Jytuck. The officer commanding the party had to make a considerable circuit to bring his detachment to a place where the ascent could be made with artillery; and keeping his files as close together as possible, he cautiously advanced to gain the top of the ridge on which the Nepaulese were posted in considerable force. They allowed our troops to come within forty yards before delivering their fire. The post, however, was overpowered with much loss, and Major Richards followed up his advantage along the ridge to a point where the Nepaulese seemed disposed to make a determined stand.

The Major halted just time enough to allow his reserve to close up, and then attacked in two columns, and carried it, making at once preparations to stockade it against any effort to recover it, which he expected Runjoor might make with his whole force. The Nepaulese, however, hesitated, from the preparations they witnessed, and by the past failure, and allowed Richards to establish himself securely.

In the above affair, the Nepaulese commander, Ujumber Punt, who, with two hundred Goorkhas, had defeated the irregulars under Lieutenant Young, was taken prisoner, and of the thirteen hundred men that composed his force, one hundred and ten were killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded; the British loss was trifling, being only forty killed and wounded, including two officers; however, notwithstanding the lateness of the period, at which this plan was adopted, there can be no doubt that this operation would have effectually reduced Jytuck had not its

fall been hastened by other means. The glory, however, of receiving the surrender of Jytuck was reserved to Sir David Ochterlony, whose further successes remain to be recorded.

END OF VOL. I.

NARRATIVE

OF A

FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE

AT

NEPAUL.

BY CAPTAIN THOMAS SMITH,
ASSISTANT POLITICAL-RESIDENT AT NEPAUL
FROM 1841 TO 1845.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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CHAPTER I.

TERMINATION OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.

We left Sir D. Ochterlony, in position, on the further side of the Maloun range, with Colonel Arnold, at Rutunghur, between the enemy and Belaspore; while Colonel Cooper was left to reduce the forts of the Ramgurh range; the first of these attacked was Ramgurh itself, which, after great exertions, in dragging up the heavy artillery, was breached at last in the middle of February.

The garrison capitulated for themselves, and were allowed to march out with the honours of

war; the two commanders, however, on joining Umur Sing, at Maloun, were rewarded, Nepaul fashion, with the loss of their ears and noses; each of the forts had a garrison of one hundred men, and one of them would have taken some days to reduce, even admitting that Ramgurh could have held out no longer; it was near the middle of March before Colonel Cooper was prepared to batter Taragurh, the next place he attacked: the breach was practicable the following day, but the garrison evacuated the fort in the night. Chumba, on the same ridge, was next attacked, and by the middle of March, after a day's battering, the garrison hung out the white flag, and surrendered prisoners of war. The chiefs expressed considerable alarm lest their families should suffer from Umur Sing's severity; to deceive him, therefore, the Colonel ordered the guns to continue firing occasionally blank cartridge, while some of the prisoners were released that they might endeavour to bring away their families from Maloun.

The whole of the strong forts in the rear being thus reduced and occupied, Colonel Cooper followed the main army to take part in the last operations against Maloun, and by the middle of April all was prepared for a combined movement, the plan of which the General had been for some time considering; our immediate object was to effect a lodgment within the series of heights that formed Umur Sing's present position.

His line stretched between the stone forts of Maloun and Soorujgurh, presenting to the view a series of connected peaks, more or less abrupt, and each crowned with a stockade, excepting two, which had the names of Ryla peak and Deothul. The former was conveniently situated for operations against Soorujgurh, which it would effectually cut off from Maloun; the latter was in the very heart of the Nepaulese position, and not one thousand yards from Maloun itself.

It was to be expected that the whole force of the Nepaulese would oppose the occupation

of Deothul, which was the main object of attack. Sir David Ochterlony reckoned, however, that even if he failed there, the possession of Ryla would still be a great advantage, and that the movement on both points at the same time would contribute to distract the enemy. To assist the enterprise further, a diversion was planned by other detachments, which were directed to march right upon the enemy's cantonment under the walls of Maloun.

It will be proper to explain this movement more in detail. Five columns altogether were put in motion, besides detachments for the diversion, and the following was the part assigned to each.

The first from Pulta, one of the posts opposed to Soorujgurh, on the enemy's extreme right, consisted of two light companies of the 19th N.I. under Lieutenant Fleming, who, attended by a strong body of irregulars, was to make a secret night movement on Ryla, and there show a light as a signal for the

movement of the other columns. Immediately on seeing it, Captain Hamilton was to march on the same point with his own and Lieutenant Lidlie's detachments, assembled for the purpose at Iynugur, while a Grenadier battalion from head-quarters under Major Innes moved simultaneously in the same direction. This force was destined to support Lieutenant Fleming and to occupy Ryla; while Major Lawrie with the 2nd battalion of the 7th N.I. from his position at Kalee to the right, and Lieutenant Colonel Thompson with the 2nd battalion of the 3rd N.I., from Sir David Ochterlony's head-quarters, were to lead each separate column on Deothul, and two field pieces were attached to the latter for the defence of the position when occupied. Two smaller detachments, one led by Captain Bowyer, and the other by Captain Showers, and consisting each of three companies, besides irregulars, were to move from opposite sides direct upon the Nepaulese cantonment, in order to create the

diversion above alluded to in aid of the occupation of Deothul.

Ryla was occupied by Lieutenant Fleming in the course of the night of the 14th, and at the sight of the signal, by which it was preconcerted that notice of this event should be communicated, Captain Hamilton and Major Innes marched on the same point, and in the course of the morning established themselves without meeting any opposition. The signal being repeated from a conspicuous station behind the General's camp, the two columns under Colonel Thompson and Major Lawrie marched immediately to the Gumrora, and waiting there till daylight moved from opposite directions on Deothul. They just met at the last ascent, and pushed on together to seize the point, at about ten in the morning, when a contest commenced as severe as any in which our native troops have ever been engaged. As the head of the first column approached the summit of Deothul, a picquet of not more than twenty

or thirty Nepaulese charged fearlessly on the advance guard, and occasioned a check that was near proving fatal to the success of the movement. The exertions of the officers, however, particularly of Major Lawrie, restored the men to a sense of duty, and they advanced boldly and dislodged the enemy as well from Deothul as from other posts in the immediate neighbourhood. The day was spent in desultory fighting about the position, and every exertion was made in the evening, and during the night to throw up defences about Deothul in the conviction that the struggle for the post had yet to come.

The Nepaulese had been occupied during the day in opposing and pursuing the detachments of Captains Showers and Bowyer, which had thus completely succeeded in withdrawing their attention from the main object. The former officer marched from Rutunghur, and early in the day found himself within the stockades of the enemy. He was of a peculiar chivalrous spirit, and thinking he had instilled the same

ardour and fearlessness into his men, urged them to trust only to the bayonet, and in this view he commanded them not to load. As the column approached the cantonments, a body of Nepaulese came boldly down upon them, when Captain Showers stepped forward to lead the projected charge; the Sepoys, however, not being on ground where they could form readily, proved unequal to the trial, and the captain was left alone to stand the shock. A personal combat ensued with the Nepaulese chief, and he was slain by the Captain, who happened to be an excellent swordsman. This brave officer was, however, shot dead immediately afterwards, which completed the confusion.

The detachment fled precipitately as far as Lag village, and were pursued by the Nepaulese. This spot being however open, the men were rallied by Lieutenant Rutledge; and having had time to load, offered a successful opposition, and again assumed the offensive.

Captain Bowyer in the meantime had marched

from Kalee at daybreak, and reached the point assigned to him as a post of observation by seven in the morning; there he was attacked, and maintained himself till noon; when, perceiving the entire failure of Captain Showers, and thus seeing the impossibility of converting the feint into anything more beneficial, he commenced a retreat in the face of the enemy.

The retreat was executed with field-day precision, one half of the detachment retiring to position, and the other following under cover of its fire. The Nepaulese, who had anticipated confusion, and the destruction of the column, continued engaged in a fruitless pursuit during a great part of the day, but could effect nothing beyond occasioning a few casualties. They were thus effectually drawn away from the more important post at Deothul, which was in the meantime occupied, and secured as we have before mentioned.

The night was one of anxiety to both parties. Bhugtee Thapa, or more properly Bukhtyar Thapa, Umur Sing's best officer, saw from

Soorujgurh the serious character of the operation intended; he accordingly left that place, with a chosen band, to take part in the struggle which impended. The absolute necessity of dislodging the British from Deothul, was but too apparent to Umur Sing and his council. There were, however, two complete battalions now established there, besides irregulars, and two pieces of field artillery had been brought up and placed in position, to say nothing of the works hastily prepared. The *élite* of the Nepaulese army were in this emergency collected, and two thousand more than could well operate at once on the broken ground of the ridge, were placed under the personal command of Bhugtee Thapa for the attack of Deothul next morning. Umur Sing himself also resolved to appear in the field with his youngest son, the only one with him, in order to encourage and support the attack.

Agreeably to the arrangements thus determined upon, the British position at Deothul was attacked at once on all sides where it was

accessible just at daybreak, on the morning of the 16th of April. The Nepaulese came on with furious intrepedity so much so that several were bayoneted or cut to pieces within our works. Umur Sing stood all the while just within musket range with the Nepaulese colours planted beside him, while Bhugtee was everywhere exciting the men to further efforts. The Nepaulese particularly aimed at gaining possession of our guns, and directed their fire with so much effect against the artillery men that at one time three officers, Lieutenant Cartwright, Lieutenant Hutchinson, of the Engineers, and Lieutenant Armstrong of the Pioneers, were with one artilleryman the only persons remaining to serve them. The British commandant at Ryla, perceiving the desperate nature of the struggle at Deothul, sent a reinforcement with ammunition, which arrived very opportunely. After a contest of two hours continuance without intermission, the Nepaulese being observed to slacken their efforts, it was resolved to assume the offensive, and drive them

back. Major Lawrie led this charge, and Bhugtee Thapa being killed in it, the enemy was every where put to flight, and the victory decided.

There were two hundred and thirteen killed and wounded on the side of the British, and the enemy left above five hundred men on the ground about the post of Deothul. In the course of the day, they sent to request permission to seek the body of Bhugtee Thapa, and it was found covered with wounds close to the foot of our defences. Sir David Ochterlony ordered it to be wrapped in shawls and delivered to Umur Sing in order to testify the respect his bravery had excited.

The total loss incurred in the operations of the 15th and 16th of April was, two officers, three Soobadars, four Naiks, and fifty-two Sepoys killed, and five officers, one serjeant, and two hundred and eighty-seven men wounded.

Taken altogether, this approached more nearly to a general action than any event that occurred in the campaign, and it was a proud triumph to the officers of the Indian army to

have achieved so complete a victory on ground which gave such great advantages to the enemy, and with numbers so nearly equal, for not one half of Sir David's army were engaged.

The dispositions for the operations exhibited wonderful skill, and the precision with which the movement of the different detachments was calculated, reflects the greatest credit on those who collected the intelligence, and furnished the materials on which the plan was combined.

Lieutenant Lawtie, of the Engineers, was the most valuable instrument of those to whose exertions the General was indebted on the occasion. This young officer had, as field engineer, directed the operations of the late successful sieges under Colonel Cooper, and there had not been a movement or enterprise undertaken by the division since it took the field, that had not benefited by his professional zeal, activity, and penetration. His ardour in examining all the routes by which the Maloun position was to be approached, with a view to provide every possible contingency or mishap, led him into

exertions that produced a fever, of which he died in the beginning of May ; but he had the satisfaction of first seeing the completion of the triumph he so essentially contributed to secure.

Sir David Ochterlony, who considered nothing done while anything remained, set himself immediately to prepare a road for heavy artillery to Deothul, and to strengthen Maloun by closing his positions round it. The Nepaulese likewise concentrated themselves about Maloun, withdrawing their garrisons from all the positions on the further side of Deothul, and even from Soorujgurh, though a place of some strength. The evacuation of this post gave Lieutenant Murray an opportunity of shewing his activity and vigilance, by intercepting and dispersing the garrison as it retired.

By the end of the first week in May, a battery was raised against Maloun, and news of the fall of Almorah having reached the Nepaulese camp, all the Sirdars urged Umur Sing to accept terms for himself and his son

Runjoor at Jytuck. The old chief was however obstinate in refusing, and endeavoured with much earnestness to persuade his men, that if they did but hold out till the approaching rains, the British army would be obliged to withdraw.

Seeing the pertinacity of his refusal, the Sirdars began to desert with their men, until at last only about two hundred remained faithful to Umur Sing. With these he retired into the fortress of Maloun until the batteries were in readiness to open on its walls. Yielding at last to his fate, this proud chief, on the 15th May, signed a capitulation, in which it was agreed that the Nepaulese, or Goorkha nation should retire to the east of the Kalee, or Gogra, and resign to the British all the provinces from Kumaon westward. Runjoor Sing was of course included in these terms, and the father and son, after giving orders for the surrender of all the remaining garrisons, were safely conducted, with all who chose to

accompany them, to the other side of the Kalee, as stipulated.

Many of the Nepaulese soldiers took service with the British, and three battalions were, at the suggestion of Sir David Ochterlony, formed of them, and called Nuseeree battalions. A provincial corps was likewise raised for Kumaon civil duties, in order to allow a further opening for the employment of the military classes.

Thus the campaign, which in January promised nothing but disaster, finished in May by leaving in the possession of the British the whole tract of hills from the Gogra to the Sutlej. A very few words will suffice to explain the nature of the arrangements made for the occupation and management of this tract. Kumaon was made a province of the British territory, and the Honourable Edward Gardner was appointed Commissioner, with full power for the administration of its affairs. The Doon was likewise retained, and annexed ultimately to

the Seharunpoor district. The remainder of the hill-country was restored to the several Rajahs and chiefs from whom Umur Sing had conquered it, with exception to Subathoo, Raeengurh, Nahn, and one or two other places, which were made military posts for the Nuseeree battalions.

The principle adopted was, to place all the chiefs in precisely the same condition as they stood with respect to each other before the appearance of the Nepaulese, and to leave them each in the free enjoyment of his own, under the general protection of the British Government. Mr. Frazer, the political agent attached to the force of General Martindell, was, in the first instance, invested with the duty of introducing this system; and for that purpose, some time before the surrender of Jytuck, he undertook a journey into Gurhwal, and afterwards made a tour of the principal places in the hills, where he was instrumental in confirming the Rajahs and Thakoors in the assurance of their security, and in reconciling

superintendence of the affairs
western chiefs was vested in
Ochterlony, on whose part a milit
was appointed to reside at Subathoc

CHAPTER II.

NEGOCIATIONS OF PEACE.

In hazarding a breach with the British government, the Nepaulese had never speculated on rousing it to such exertions as they witnessed in the first campaign. Notwithstanding their early successes, therefore, they very soon repented of the rash measures by which they had brought themselves into so hopeless a contest. Even when at the height of their prosperity, the immensity of the preparations, and the perseverance of their enemy convinced them their cause was desperate, and they would willingly have given up every object

in dispute, could they by that means have brought the war to an honourable termination. They were prepared also for some sacrifices, if such should be required.

It appears, from an intercepted letter, addressed to Umur Sing from the Rajah, on the 2nd March, 1815, that immediately on the fall of Nalapanee, he was consulted as to the policy of giving up the Dehra Doon and the hilly tract west of the Jumna, in addition to the contested lands on the Sarun and Goruckpore frontiers. That chief's opinion was adverse to any cession of hill territory. Though vested, therefore, with power to negociate on this footing, if the plan had met his approval, he never indicated to Sir David Ochterlony any disposition to treat on such a basis.

Upon the conquest of Kumaon, the Nepaulese Governor of that province, Bum Sah, a man of some consideration in the state, expressed much desire to be the means of re-establishing the former relations between the two powers, and

the occasion was taken of assuring the Court of Khatmandoo, through him, that the British government entertained a reciprocal anxiety to restore the ancient good understanding.

After the campaign had closed so triumphantly for us, the desire for peace seemed to have increased at the capital of Nepaul. Most of the chiefs appeared to have become sensible that their confidence of security in the ruggedness of their mountains was a vain illusion, and although a considerable faction still maintained their hostile disposition, all parties united in the wish to discover on what terms peace would be granted. Accordingly in May 1815, Gooroo Gujraj Misur, the family priest of the Rajah was sent down from Khatmandoo with full powers under the red seal, and with instructions to negociate with Major Bradshaw, the British political agent in that quarter, an entire adjustment of all differences.

This overture was met by an unreserved disclosure of the sacrifices which Lord Hastings conceived himself to be now justified in demand-

ing. They were: First, The perpetual cession of all the hill-country taken in the campaign, viz: from the Kalee, westward. Secondly, A like cession of the entire Turai from the foot of the outer hills along the whole line of the remaining territory of the Goorkhas. Thirdly, The relinquishment by the Goorkhas of the footing they had gained in the territory of the Sikhim Rajah, and the surrender to that chief of the stockaded forts of Nagree and Nagurkot; and finally the reception of a Resident with the usual escort and establishment at Khatmandoo, and the customary stipulation not to receive or give service to Europeans without the special sanction of the government.

Major P. Bradshaw stated to the Gooroo that he could not negociate except on this basis, and the Gooroo declaring he had no authority to treat for any cession in the Turai, excepting the disputed tracts, the overture was broken off, and Gujraj Misur returned to Khatmandoo.

From a hope that other negociators might be more accommodating, the Goorkha court empowered Bum Sah to make a second overture to the Honourable E. Gardner, who was now civil commissioner for the management of the province of Kumaon. That officer had been instructed as to the manner in which such an overture was to be received. Accordingly, the reply to Bum Sah being similar in every respect to that made to the Gooroo, the negociation in that quarter was similarly broken off.

In the meantime, the army, which had been collected on the Sarun frontiers, was cantoned to the north of the Ganges, or at Dinapoor, the cantonment of Patna; and was kept in a state of equipment to be ready to take the field immediately the favourable season should return.

The Marquis of Hastings thinking that a second campaign might be inevitable, determined on so conducting it, as to humble the proud spirit of the Nepaulese chiefs; or

if that were impossible, to crush this ambitious and aspiring nation for ever.

Preparation was made for penetrating, with a brigade from Kumaon, where Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Adams, a most excellent and steady officer, had succeeded Colonel Nicolls, while the latter was to operate against the Bhotwal and Palpa frontier with the army of General Wood considerably reinforced. Sir David Ochterlony was at the same time to be summoned from the north-west to take the command of the Sarun troops, which were destined to penetrate into the valley of Nepaul.

Although provision was thus made for pushing the war with vigour, the efforts of the government to re-establish peace were not relaxed; for many powerful considerations made this much the most desirable consummation at the juncture. It was with satisfaction, therefore, government learnt that the negociation was re-opened by the Gooroo

who came again into the Turai, in August, for the purpose.

The Marquis of Hastings had, in the interim, ascertained that a main objection to the relinquishment of the Turai was, that most of the principal officers of the Nepaulese court had jageers there. Accordingly, to reconcile them to the cession, and to show that the British government did not desire it from any avaricious motive, his Lordship authorised his negociator to tender the amount of the estimated revenue in stipends, to be at the distribution of the Court of Khatmandoo. The annual assignment thus sanctioned, amounted to between two and three lacs of rupees, (£20,000 and £30,000) and his Lordship justly considered that a permanent peace was worth this sacrifice.

The Gooroo was made acquainted with the liberal disposition of the government, but after some consideration, he again broke off the negociation in September, declaring that the Nepaulese chiefs would never accede to a

cession of the whole Turai, which was the main source of their subsistence, the hills themselves being comparatively unproductive.

The Marquis of Hastings, having maturely weighed the matter, resolved to proceed a step further for re-establishment of peace. It seemed evident, from what had passed, that no advantage offered in other shape would compensate to the Nepaulese government for the entire loss of the Turai and forests under the hills. That Court's repugnance to the cession was ascertained to be owing to the high estimate of the pecuniary value of the territory which was entertained by the chiefs rather than to any feeling of pride or objection to the humiliation of the step. The reception of a Resident was the article most offensive to them on this score; but this had been insisted on as a *sine quâ non;* and finding there was no hope of procuring a change, the Nepaulese had conceded the point. The Turai was, therefore, the only question remaining for discussion. For the last year that the British authorities had

held the greater part of the tract, its management had been found very troublesome and expensive, and the climate was so noxious as to render the continuance in it of troops, and even of civil officers, impracticable for a large portion of the year. To us, therefore, the accession of territory promised little advantage, but much trouble and difficulty in the maintenance of the rights and privileges whence the revenue was derived. The demand of the cession, it is to be observed, chiefly originated in a desire (by exclusion of the Nepaulese from any interest in the lowlands), to take away the source of future contention, and at the same time to inflict an appropriate punishment for the encroachments, and other acts of violence and insult, which had brought on the war; the hope of profit in the tract formed no part of the motives which influenced the British government. Balancing the acquisition of the above objects, therefore, against the advantage of a restoration of peace, Lord Hastings finally determined to relax the rigour of the original terms; and a treaty was

drafted, which the British negociator was desired to present openly to the Gooroo, in case of his expected re-appearance, accompanied by a declaration, that it contained the British ultimatum. In the draft, the Turai, from the Kaleet or Western Gogra, to the Gunduk, was all that was insisted on, and of the rest, so much only as was in our actual possession. Stipends to the extent of two lacs of rupees (£20,000) were still offered to be placed at the distribution of the court in compensation for the retained lands, and the draft contained a stipulation to this effect.

As was expected, the Raj Gooroo again sought out Major Bradshaw, and on this occasion Chunder Seekur Opadheea, who, at the close of the campaign, had been allowed to return to Khatmandoo, was associated with him. The drafted treaty was shown to them, when both declared they could not venture to accede to the terms, even as altered, without first submitting the draft to the Court. They engaged, however, that a definitive answer should arrive

in fifteen days, and forwarded a copy of the proposed treaty to Khatmandoo for the purpose.

The term expired without their receiving any reply, and the negociators, being unable to redeem their pledge, begged submissively that the negociation might not be broken off, until they should themselves go to Khatmandoo and ascertain the cause. The Gooroo at the same time offered to sign the treaty, if the portion of Turai in the British occupation, viz., that lying between the Gunduk and Koosa were substituted for the offered stipends. This was refused, and the negociators took their leave on the 29th of October, promising to return in twelve days with the treaty signed.

The Supreme government, on hearing of the continued reluctance of the Nepaulese, called on the authorities in charge of the contiguous districts, to state their opinion as to the value of the several portions of the Turai, and the means of obtaining a good frontier line by the retention of part only of what had been occupied; thus preparing itself to make some

further gratuitous concessions, either in lieu of the stipends, or in addition to them, in order the better to gratify the Nepaulese chiefs, and leave them in a disposition to execute and maintain the treaty when signed.

In the meantime the Raj Gooroo Gujraj Misur came down again from Khatmandoo, and signed the treaty according to the original draft. This was done at Segoulee, on the 28th of November, 1815. The Supreme government, on being apprised of the event, fired the usual salutes, and ratified the treaty on the 9th of December with due solemnity. It was determined, notwithstanding, to make the further concessions contemplated; and it was considered fortunate that the execution of the treaty without them, would yet more decidedly mark the act as a gratuitous bounty towards a fallen and suppliant foe. The conciliatory effect of the boon on the Sirdars would likewise, it was conceived, be enhanced by their not feeling themselves indebted for it to their own obstinacy, either in war or negociation.

In the confidence of its own liberal views towards the Nepaulese, the British government never doubted the sincerity of the enemy. The very earnestness of their opposition in the course of the negociation seemed to show that the acceptance of the proffered terms was the deliberate act of the Court, and though their assent was unwilling, and tardy in the extreme, still this seemed to be fully accounted for by being attributed to the reluctance with which they entered into engagements they felt to be inviolable.

Adopting this view, the Governor-General reckoned that so soon as his further intentions for the benefit of the nation should be made known, the partial discontent which existed would give place to general satisfaction, and that all parties would be thankful for the restoration of peace. In this impression, the government hesitated not to suspend the preparations which had hitherto been actively making for a second campaign; and the commissariat officers, in their zeal for economy,

went beyond the bounds of due discretion, and discharged a great part of the establishments which had been entertained for the transport of stores, selling also much of the grain which had been collected in the frontier depôts.

Of this precipitancy there was soon reason to repent. It was a stipulation of the treaty that the ratification under the red seal should be delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw in fifteen days. The period expired, and no ratification came; moreover, it was ascertained in the course of the month of December, that, after several very animated discussions at the Court of Khatmandoo, the war faction had again prevailed over that which favoured the Gooroo and his late negociations. Hence a renewal of hostilities was all that could be looked for, though it was of course expected to be the policy of the Nepaulese to waste as much of the season of action as possible by amusing us with fresh offers to negociate.

In order to anticipate such an attempt, and to show the serious light in which the past

conduct of the court of Khatmandoo was regarded. Sir David Ochterlony was forthwith ordered into the field, and every possible exertion was made to furnish the stores and establishments requisite to give efficiency to his army. A letter was also written to the Rajah of Nepaul complaining of his want of faith, and warning him of the approach of the British army. He was told, however, that the consequences might yet be averted, by sending the treaty, duly ratified, to meet the General in the Turai.

A word or two may be required in order to explain the motives which seemed, at this time, to influence the Nepaulese councils. The non-ratification of the treaty of Segoulee has not ordinarily been attributed to any settled plan of deceit practised on the British Government, but it must be admitted that the time of the Raj Gooroo's signing, which was just that at which the army would otherwise have taken the field, is a very suspicious circumstance. There seems reason, however, to believe

that the Raj Gooroo was himself sincere, and that the disavowal of his act was the result of a divided sentiment amongst the chiefs, part of whom strenuously advocated the necessity of accepting the terms offered, while others as violently opposed the measure.

The veteran, Umur Sing, and his sons who had recently arrived at the capital were amongst the warmest partizans of the war. Some notion of the proud spirit which actuated this chief may be formed from the intercepted letter written by him in March 1815, when he himself was closely beset on every side by the army of Sir David Ochterlony, against which he felt he could make no head. As the document is highly characteristic and shows the hopes which buoyed up the war faction in their determination to persevere rather than submit to what they deemed the first step to subjection. It may not be out of place to give it at length, though it has already been more than once before the public.

"A copy of your letter of the 23rd December, addressed to Runjoor Sing, under the Red Seal, was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport:

"The capture of Nalapanee, by the enemy, has been communicated to me from Gurhwal and Kumaon, as also the intelligence of his having marched to Nahn: having assembled his force, he now occupies the whole country from Barapursa to Subturee and Muhotree. My army is also secretly posted in various places in the jungles of the mountains; an army under a general, has arrived in Goruckpore for Palpa, and another detachment has reached the borders of Beejypoor. I have further heard that a general officer has set off from Calcutta to give us further trouble. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide. All this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy, after making immense prepa-

rations, have begun the war; and unless great concessions are made, they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper; for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the departments of Bhotwal, Palpa, and Sheeoraj, and the disputed tracts already settled by the commissioners towards Barah.*

"If this be insufficient to establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Turai, the Doon, and the low-lands; and if the English are still dissatisfied, on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the mountains, you are herewith authorized to give up, with the Doon, the country as far as the Sutlej. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kunka Teestta to the Sutlej. If the enemy once

* Meaning the twenty-two villages on the Sarun frontier.

obtain a footing in the centre of our territory, both extremities will be thrown into disorder.

"If you can retire with your army and military stores to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service, and retire to any part of our territory, which as far as Nepaul, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders:

"In the first place, after the immense preparations of the enemy, he will not be satisfied with all these concessions, or if he should accept of our terms, he would serve us as he did Tippoo; from whom he first accepted of an indemnification of six crores of rupees in money and territory, and afterwards wrested from him his whole country. If we were to cede to him so much country, he would seek some fresh occasion of quarrel, and at a future opportunity would wrest from us other provinces. Having lost so much territory, we should be

unable to maintain our army on its present footing; and our military fame being once reduced, what means should we have left to defend our Eastern possessions? While we retain Bisahur, Gurhwal is secure; if the former be abandoned, the Bhootees of Ruwain will certainly betray us.

"Th English having thus acquired the Doon and Ruwain, it will be impossible for us to maintain Gurhwal; and being deprived of the latter, Kumaon and Dotee will be also lost to us. After the seizure of these provinces, Achain, Joomlee, and Dooloo will be wrested from us in succession. You say, 'that a porclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the eastern Kurats,' if they have joined the enemy, the other Kurats will do so likewise; and then the country Dood Koosee, on the east, to Bheeree on the west, cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishments? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Knox's mission, under

pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; and if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccompanied with troops, they will not comply. They will begin by introducing a company; a battalion will soon after follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nepaul. You think, that if, for the present, the lowlands, the Doon, and the country to the Sutlej, were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nepaul: do not trust! they who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox,* and permit the establishment of a commercial factory, will usurp the government of Nepaul. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had in the first instance decided upon a

* Meaning apparently that the British would restore the fallen faction of the Pandes, and by their means govern Nepaul.

pacific line of conduct, and agreed to restore the departments of Bhotwal and Sheeoraj; as adjusted by the commissioners, the present contest might have been avoided. But you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and by murdering their revenue officer, excited their indignation, and kindled a war for trifles.

"At Jytuck we obtained a victory over the enemy. In conjunction with the Seiks, my army will make a descent into the plains; and our forces crossing the Jumna from two different quarters, will recover possession of the Doon. When we reach Hurdwar, the Nuwab of Lucknow may be expected to take a part in the cause; and, on his accession to the general coalition, we may consider ourselves secure as far as Khunka. Relying on your fortune, I trust that Bhulbudder, Koonwur and Rewunt Kajee will soon be able to reinforce the garrison of Jytuck; and I hope ere long, to send Punt Kajee with eight

companies, when the force there will be very strong. The troops sent by you are arriving every day, and when they all come up, I hope we shall succeed both here and at Jytuck.

"Formerly when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sundowlee, they continued for two years* in possession of Bareh Pursa and Muhotree; but, when you conquered Nepaul, they were either destroyed by your force, or fell victims to the climate, with the exception of a few only who abandoned the place. Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Choudundee, and Choudena in Bejypoor, and the two Kurats, and the ridge of Mahabharut.

"Suffer the enemy to retain the low-lands for a couple of years, measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement cannot again be

* Alluding to the expedition under Major Kinloch, when the Turai was occupied for two years, an event that Umur Sing was old enough to have witnessed.

resumed; but if they have been taken by force, force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Seiks should not join us. Should you succeed now in bringing our differences to an amicable termination by the cession of territory, the enemy, in the course of a few years, would be in possession of Nepaul, as he took possession of the country of Tippoo.

"The present, therefore, is not the time for treaty and conciliation. These expedients should have been tried before the murder of the revenue officer (in Goruckpore), or must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. If they will then accede to the terms which I shall propose, it is well; if not, with the favour of God, and your fortune and bounty, it shall be my business to preserve the integrity of my country from Khunka to the Sutlej. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to make peace. Formerly, when some individuals urged the adoption of a treaty of peace and commerce, I refused my assent to that measure; I will not now suffer the honour of my Prince to be

sullied by concession and submission. If you are determined on this step, bestow the humiliating office on him who first advised it. But for me, call me to your presence; I am old, and only desire once more to kiss your feet. I can recollect the time when the Goorkha army did not exceed twelve thousand men. Through the favour of Heaven, and by the valour of your forefathers, your territory was extended to the confines of Khunka, on the east.

"Under the auspices of your father, we subjugated Kumaon, and, through your fortune, we have pushed our conquests to the Sutlej.

"Four generations have been employed in the acquisition of all this dignity and dominion. At Nalapanee, Bhulbudder defeated three or four thousand of the enemy. At Jytuck, Runjoor Sing, with his officers, overthrew two battalions. In this place, I am surrounded and daily fighting with the enemy, and look forward with confidence to victory. All the inhabitants and chiefs of the country have joined the enemy.

I must gain two or three victories before I can accomplish the object I have in view, of attaching Runjeet Sing to our cause.

"On his accession, and after the advance of the Sheiks and Goorkhas towards the Jumna, the chiefs of the Dukhum may be expected to join the coalition, as also the Nuwab of Lucknow, and the Salee-Ramee-Leech.*

"Then will be the time for us to drive out the enemy, and recover possession of the low countries of Palpa, as far as Bejypoor. If we succeed in gaining these, we can attempt further conquest in the plains.

"There has been no fighting in your quarter yet; the Choudundee and Choudena of Bejypoor, as far as the ridges of Muhabharut and Sooleeana, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thapas, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an

* It is not known who Umur Sing means by the Salee-Ramee-Leech, and some other of his names of places and persons differ from any in common use.

amicable adjustment without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nepaul, we implored the mercy of heaven by offerings to the Brahmins, and the performance of religious ceremonies; and through the favour of one, and intercession of the other, we suceeeded in repulsing the enemy.

"Ever since you confiscated the Jageers of the Brahmins, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kaugrah; and orders to this effect, under the red seal, were addressed to me, and Nyn Sing Thapa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there is universal discontent. You ought therefore to assemble all the Brahmins, and promise to restore to them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means many thousand

worthy Brahmins will put up their prayers for your prosperity, and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity, the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved; and through the favour of God our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory, our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing, and even increased.

"The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy, yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of four thousand men, and Kaugrah might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces, the reputation and splendour of your court will no longer remain. By the capture of Kaugrah your name would have been rendered formidable; and though that has not happened, a powerful impression has nevertheless been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquests to the Sutlej. To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna, would give rise to the idea that

the Goorkhas were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to the extent of four thousand men. The enemy will, moreover, require the possession of Bisahur, and after that, the conquest of Gurhwal will be easy; nor will it be possible, in that case, for us to retain Kumaon, and with it we must lose Dotee, Acham, and Joomlah, whence he may be expected to penetrate even to Bheree. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out: the countries towards the Sutlej should be obstinately defended; the abandonment of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil; the possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquest.

"You ought, therefore, to direct Gooroo Rungnath Pundit, and Dulbunjun Pandeh, to give up the disputed lands of Bhotwal, Sheeoraj, and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of the Bareh, and thus, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this

step I have no objections, and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must, however, declare a decided hostility to such as, in bringing about a reconciliation with the English, consult only their own interest, and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhurtpore by storm; but the Rajah Runjeet Sing destroyed an European regiment, and a battalion of Sepoys. To the present day, they have not ventured to meddle with Bhurtpore again; whence it would seem that one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Dhurma they established their authority; but the Rajah overthrew their army, and captured all their artillery and stores; and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear; and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, let us confide

our fortunes to our swords; and by boldly opposing the enemy, compel him to remain within his own territory; or, if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating, after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute, and adjust our differences. Such, however, is the fame and terror of our swords, that Bhulbudder, with a force of six hundred men, defeated an army of three or four thousand English.

"His force consisted of the old Gourukh and Kurrukh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom, and of the people of the countries from Bheree to Gurhwal; and with these he destroyed one battalion, and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed; nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and cannot apprehend desertion from them; you have also an immense militia, and many

Jageerdars, who will fight for their own honour and interests. Assembling the militia of the low-lands, and fighting in the plains is impolitic; call them into the hills, and cut the enemy up by detail, (a passage here the sense of which cannot be discovered). The enemy is proud, and flushed with success, and has reduced, under his subjection, all the Western Zumindars, the Kanas, and Rajah of Kuhlor, and the Thakooraen, and will keep peace with no one. However, my advice is nothing. I will direct Ram Doss to propose to General Ochterlony the abandonment, on our part, of the disputed lands, and will forward to you the answer which he may receive. All the Ranas, Rajas, and Thakooraen have joined the enemy, and I am surrounded; nevertheless, we shall fight and conquer, and all my officers have taken the same resolution.

"The Pundits have pronounced the month of Bysakh* as particularly auspicious for the Goorkhas; and by selecting a fortunate day,

* Commencing about the 10th or 12th of April.

we shall surely conquer. I am desirous of engaging with the enemy slowly and with caution, but cannot manage it, the English being always first to begin the fight. I hope however, to be able to delay the battle till Bysakh, when I will choose a favourable opportunity to fight them. When we shall have driven the enemy from hence, either Runjoor or myself, according to your wishes, will repair to your presence.

"In the present crisis, it is very desirable to write to the Emperor of China, and to the Lama of Lassa, and to the other Lamas; and for this purpose, I beg leave to submit the enclosed draft of a letter to their address; any errors in it, I trust, will be forgiven by you, and I earnestly recommend that you will lose no time in sending a petition to the Emperor of of China, and a letter to the Lama."

Assuming this letter to contain a fair statement of the sentiments of those who advocated the continuance of war, it would seem that

suspicion of the ulterior views of the British was a main ingredient of their present disposition. It is certain, however, that independently of such a suspicion, the events of the past campaign in the Turai, east of the Gogra, had filled many of the chiefs with the most presumptuous confidence in the strength of the barrier opposed by the forests and hill, which skirted their eastern territories, and that the occurrences to the west had very partially removed this feeling. From the Gogra to the Koosee, on a line of near eight hundred miles, the British armies had been wholly baffled; and though superior in force to those which achieved the conquests of the west, had not even ventured to cross the forest. Hence the Nepaulese felt assured that they might persevere in the war with impunity, so long as they kept the passes of the first range guarded, and under this impression, they saw no reason why they should assent to a permanent relinquishment of their independence

by receiving a Resident, or give up the ambitious hope of recovering some part of their lost territory in the hills.

In this state of the public feeling at Khatmandoo, the treaty of Segoulee was, as we have before related, finally rejected by the chiefs; and every precaution taken to fortify and render impregnable the passes through the first range of hills. The principle route into the valley of Nepaul is by the Bicheea-Koh pass, which by distinction is called the Chooreea Ghatee or main pass over the Chooreea hills. Other minor passes have occasionally the same name applied to them, or at least to that part of the route by them which leads over the same range. The grand pass, however, is as before stated by Bicheea-Koh, and this the Nepaulese defended by three successive fortifications, the last of which was absolutely impregnable; all the other known routes were similarly defended, and in this manner the Nepaulese awaited the arrival of Sir David Ochterlony, leaving him the passage of the forest altogether free.

The British army was already in motion to the Turai, when towards the beginning of February, it was met by Gujraj Misûr with a formal intimation of the determination of the Nepaulese to recommence the war. Sir David Ochterlony had a force of near twenty thousand effective men, including three European regiments, Her Majesty's 24th, 66th, and 87th. He divided this force into four brigades, giving Colonel Kelly of the 24th one; Lieutenant-Colonel-Nicoll of the 66th another; and Lieutenant Colonel Miller of the 87th a third; while the fourth was commanded by Colonel Dick who has before been mentioned.

Colonel Kelly with his brigade and regiment were detached to the right by Bhugwanpoor with orders to penetrate, if possible, by Hurreehurpoor; Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll was similarly directed on Ramnughur to the left, while Sir David Ochterlony with the other two brigades, moved straight through the forest by Simlabassa to the foot of the Bicheea-Koh pass.

On the 10th of February, 1816, Sir David established himself at a kind of caravanserai at the outlet of the pass, and at a short distance from the enemy's first stockade. The serai was quickly converted into a depôt, and the opposite works having been reconnoitered, and found unassailable, information was sought with earnestness as to the possibility of turning the pass by some route unknown to the enemy.

After four days thus spent without interruption of any kind from the Nepaulese army, a route was discovered by Captain Pickersgill, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, and on the 14th, at nine at night, Colonel Miller's brigade was led by the General in person through a deep and narrow ravine called Baleekola which brought the detachment to a water course leading to a steep acclivity, by which the first formidable barrier of hills was to be scaled. The march was continued during the whole night, and by seven in the morning, the Choorea Chatee heights to the west of the enemy's positions were occupied

without resistance. In the course of the 15th, the brigade advanced about five miles to the Chukree Mukree Nulla, and there bivouacked for four days, waiting the arrival of its supplies and tents, for no laden animal had been able to accompany the troops.

For the first two days, the men suffered the greatest privations, being for the most part without food. Their hardships were participated in a great measure by the General himself, who had no baggage, and slept under cover of a hut, hastily constructed for him by the men of the 87th, of boughs cut from the green trees. All this, however, was submitted to with cheerfulness by both men and officers, in the conviction that the object of the movement was gained. On the morning following that of the General's march, Colonel Dick moved up close to the enemy's outer stockade, and in the course of the following day found the triple fortification evacuated by the Nepaulese, in consequence of the success of the operation for turning the position.

By the 20th of February, the roads were prepared for a further advance, and the two brigades met again at Etounda on the banks of the Raptee, and here runs in a valley remarkably picturesque and beautiful: after a halt to establish a second depôt, the Major-General marched again on the 27th, moving up the valley to Muckwanpore, under which place he encamped in the evening at a village called Chougurha Mundee.

Muckwanpore is situate on a low ridge which lay to the north of the encampment stretching from west to east. The tower and fort were to the east opposed to our right, and on the other extremity was a village named Seekhur Kutree, which was also occupied by the enemy, on the General's first appearance under the position.

For some unknown reason, the Nepaulese withdrew their men from Seekhur Kutree next morning, which being observed by the British General, he immediately went with four companies and forty Europeans to seize the point. Captain Pickersgill accompanied them, and was pro-

ceeding to occupy some other points along the ridge, when he perceived a large force of the enemy ascending the northern side of the hill, so as to cut him off from Seekhur Kutree which he had just left. He made good his retreat down the southern declivity into camp, while the Nepaulese advanced against the posts which had been occupied. They had recovered all but the village itself, and the men there had lost their commanding officer, Lieutenant Tirrell, and were beginning to feel the want of ammunition when the 25th N. I., which Sir David Ochterlony had kept under arms prepared for any exigency, came opportunely to their relief accompanied by the flank companies of the 87th. The post was now secured, and dispositions made to maintain it; but the Nepaulese unwilling to relinquish the advantage poured a force of two thousand men from the stockade near Múckwanpore, and showed a determination to recover the village at all hazards.

Sir David Ochterlony seeing that the contest

was becoming every instant more serious, detached the 2nd battalion of the 12th N. I. with four more companies of the 87th, under the command of Colonel Miller, to support the troops at Seekhur Kutree; and turning out his line he further ordered the artillery to play on the different bodies of the enemy as they passed passed along the ridge to the attack. The Nepaulese seeing this, opened also their guns at Muckwanpore, turning them at first against the advancing parties, and subsequently on the camp and line, where Sir David and his staff were a conspicuous object. In the meantime, the junction of the reinforcement enabled the force at Seekhur Kutree to advance on the enemy, and, the Europeans leading, a charge was made which drove the Nepaulese beyond a hollow, separating this part of the ridge from Muckwanpore.

Detached parties of the enemy, however, still cowered down in the jungle on the ridge, and kept up a very destructive, though desultory, fire on our posts; they brought also some

guns to the opposite side of the hollow, and thus continued to annoy us during the whole day. Towards the afternoon, Sir David despatched to Colonel Miller a fresh battalion, the 2nd of the 8th N. I. to enable him to finish the action, if possible, before sunset. The battalion upon its arrival was conducted by Major Nation across the hollow, and advancing with charged bayonets, captured the nearest of the enemy's guns, after which the Nepaulese retired within their fort and stockades leaving their dead and wounded at our mercy.

The Nepaulese were, in this action, led by Shumsheer Rana, the chief who commanded the attack on Captain Sibley's post at Pursa, in the previous campaign. Their whole force were engaged in the course of the day, and the defeat was signal, their loss in killed and wounded, having, by their own acknowledgment, exceeded eight hundred men. Of the British forty-five were killed, including eleven men of the 87th, and one hundred and seventy-five wounded, including nineteen Euro-

peans, and Lieutenant and Adjutant P. Young of the 2nd battalion, 12th N. I. Lieutenant Tirrell was the only officer killed.

Colonel Nicoll, with his brigade, joined the Major-General on the day after the action, having successfully penetrated into the valley of the Raptee, by a pass to the north of Ramnughur, and having marched thence up the valley without meeting any opposition, the colonel left a strong detachment of two battalions in position at Ekoor, under Major Lumley, to maintain the communication by this route and keep the valley free of the enemy.

In the meantime, Colonel Kelly, who had orders to penetrate by Hurreehurpoor, succeeded likewise, in finding a route by which he entered the hills without opposition, and penetrated to that fortress. His march was, however, much impeded by the nature of the ground, and it was the 27th of February before he reached Rutunpoor, a village on the left bank of the Bhagmutee, a few miles to the south of the fort. He immediately made from thence a

strong reconnoissance, and finding the post to be unassailable from the south, he resolved on crossing the Bhagmutee, and advancing to Ioorjoor, a village to the west of Hurreehurpoor, whence the approach seemed more easy. This movement was effected on the 29th of February.

The principal stockade of the enemy was about one thousand yards to the west of Hurreehurpoor, crowning the ridge in a semi-circular form, and commanding the valley of the Bhagmutee.

On the Colonel's first arrival at Ioorjoor, he observed an eminence of about eight hundred yards distant from this stockade, which the enemy had left unoccupied. He accordingly, next morning before daybreak, detached his light companies, under Captain (Brevet Major) Hughes of Her Majesty's 24th, supported by seven battalion companies under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran to seize the point. This detachment ascended and quickly established itself, driving off a picquet of the enemy it found there; no sooner, however, was

it well in position, than the whole force of the Nepaulese came to the attack, and Colonel O'Halloran had to sustain an unequal fight from six in the morning until half-past eleven, exposed on every side to the fire of the enemy. At length, a strong reinforcement arrived with two 6-pounders and two howitzers on elephants. The enemy was then driven back with considerable loss, and the attempt on the position was not repeated. The Nepaulese, indeed, although their first attack was vigorous and obstinate, did not evince, on this occasion, quite so much bravery as was expected from the reputation of their commander, who was no other than Runjoor Sing, the defender of Jytuck. He had with him also a choice band of his associates in that defence, whom he had distinguished by crescents in their turbans, and by the pompous title "Band of the Moon." Runjoor was himself one of the first to leave the field, and his conduct in this action, and in subsequently abandoning his post, tarnished his bright name at the Court of Khatmandoo.

The fort of Hurreehurpoor was evacuated in the night after this affair, and Colonel Kelly, having converted it into a depôt, was preparing for a further advance, when he received the General's orders to retrace his steps.

The news of the first defeat at Muckwanpore spread consternation at Khatmandoo, and without waiting for intelligence of the event at Hurreehurpoor, the Court immediately resolved on an attempt to deprecate *further vengeance* by *unqualified submission*.

The red seal was affixed in haste to the treaty of Segoulee, and an envoy sent to the camp of Sir David Ochterlony to notify that it was ready for delivery. The messenger brought a letter from Bukhtawur Sing, the Goorkha commander, requesting permission to send the instrument by Chunder Seekur Opadheea, who was stated to have come to Muckwanpore for the purpose.

The General returned for answer that the Goorkhas must not expect the same terms now as before the commencement of hostilities, but

that he had no objection to receive the Opadheea if he came with full powers. At the same time the approaches were pushed on to within five hundred yards of Muckwanpore, and a battery was made ready against the place.

Chunder Seekur made his appearance in camp on the 3rd of March, and earnestly entreated the General to accept the ratified treaty. Sir David had been vested with full powers to use his own discretion in the acceptance of the former terms, or in advancing further demands, according as circumstances and the state of the season might prompt; but he was not to conclude a treaty until the enemy were sufficiently humbled to make it safe to rely on their sincerity.

This period seemed to Sir David to have now arrived, and in order to put their humility to the test, it was explained to Chunder Seekur that the letter of the treaty would give to the British all the territory in their occupation, and would now, therefore, include the valley of the Raptee, as well as Hetounda and Hurreehurpoor.

At the same time the Opadheea was assured that he must no longer expect any concession beyond the letter, and he was called upon to give a specific note in writing, declaratory of his being influenced by no such hopes; and further, to engage that the Rajah should specifically confirm the declaration in a letter to the Governor-General.

To all this the Goorkha negociator readily assented, and he agreed, moreover, to present the ratified treaty on his knees at the General's Durbar, in the presence of all the Vakeels in camp.

This solemnity having passed, the General concluded the treaty, and dispatched Lieutenant Boileau of his staff to act as Resident at Khatmandoo until the Governor-General should nominate a proper officer. He prepared, also, for his own return, but did not finally leave the hills until he received the orders for the surrender of the forts of Nagree and Nargurkot to the Rajah of Sikhim, and had ascertained that they would be duly executed.

The following are the treaties and the subsequent engagements:

Treaty of Peace between the Honourable East India Company and Maharajah Beckrum Sah, Rajah of Nepaul, settled between Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis, Earl of Moira, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, one of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies, and by Raj Gooroo Gujraj Misur and Chunder Seekur Opadheea, on the part of Maharajah Koorman Jodh Beckrum Sah Bahadur Shumsheer Jung, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nepaul.

"Whereas war has arisen between the Honourable East India Company, and the Rajah of Nepaul, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity, which, previously to the occurrence of the late differences, had long subsisted between the two states, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon.

ARTICLE I.

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nepaul.

ARTICLE II.

"The Rajah of Nepaul renounces all claim to the lands which were the subject of discussion between the two states before the war; and acknowledges the right of the Honourable Company to the sovereignty of those lands.

ARTICLE III.

"The Rajah of Nepaul hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company in perpetuity, all the undermentioned territories, namely:—

First. — The whole of the low-lands between the rivers Kali and Raptee.

Secondly.—The whole of the low-lands (with the exception of Bhotwal Khas) lying between the Raptee and the Gunduk.

Thirdly.—The whole of the low-lands between the Gunduk and Koosee, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced, or is in actual course of introduction.

Fourthly.—All the low lands between the river Mechee and the Teesta.

Fifthly.—All the territories within the hills eastward of the River Mechee, including the fort and lands of Nagree, and the pass of Nagarcote, leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that pass and Nagree. The aforesaid territory shall be evacuated by the Goorkha troops within forty days from this date.

ARTICLE IV.

"With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the state of Nepaul, whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands ceded by the foregoing article, the British government agrees to settle pensions, to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of

rupees per annum, on such chiefs as may be selected by the Rajah of Nepaul, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunuds shall be granted under the seal and signature of the Governor-General for the pensions respectively.

ARTICLE V.

"The Rajah of Nepaul renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connexion with, the countries lying to the west of the River Kalee, and engages never to have any concern with these countries or the inhabitants thereof.

ARTICLE VI.

"The Rajah of Nepaul engages never to molest or disturb the Rajah of Sikhim in possession of his territories; but agrees, if any differences shall arise between the state of Nepaul and the Rajah of Sikhim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to the arbitration of the British

government, by whose award the Rajah of Nepaul engages to abide.

ARTICLE VII.

"The Rajah of Nepaul hereby engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British government.

ARTICLE VIII.

"In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two states, it is agreed that accredited ministers from each shall reside at the Court of the other.

ARTICLE IX.

"This treaty, consisting of nine articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nepaul within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who engages to obtain and deliver to the Rajah the ratification of the Governor-

General within twenty-days, or sooner, if practicable.

"Done at Segoulee on the 2nd day of December, 1815."

(Signed)

(L. S.) PARIS BRADSHAW, *Lieut.-Col., P.A.*

(L. S.) GURAJ MISUR.

(L. S.) CHUNDER SEEKUR OPADHEEA.

Received this treaty from Chunder Seekur Opadheea, Agent on the part of the Rajah of Nepaul, in the valley of Muckwanpore, at half-past two o'clock, P.M., on the 4th March,

Translation of an Engagement (Ikrarnama) in the Hindee language, executed at Muckwanpore, Mandee, by Kajee Bukhtawur Sing Thapa, and Chunder Seekur Opadheea, Plenipotentiaries on the part of the Rajah of Nepaul, and forwarded by General Sir David Ochterlony, along with the above Treaty.

"At the time of delivering the treaty, Major-General Sir David Ochterlony was pleased to observe, that the Right Honourable the Governor-General had not authorized him to accept the treaty, and that he could not encourage any hope of those indulgencies, of which a prospect had been held out by Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, being granted in addition to the treaty; that his Lordship indeed would not grant them, and that he (the General) would not recommend him to do so; that nothing beyond what was stated in the treaty would be allowed. Accordingly we, Sree Kajee Bukhtawur Sing Thapa and Chunder Seekher Opadheea, have agreed to what Sir David Ochterlony has required, in testimony whereof we have executed this

razeenama and delivered it to the Major-General, dated 5th of Soodee Phagun, 1872, Sumbut, corresponding with Tuesday, the 4th of March, 1816.

(A true Translation.)

(Signed) J. MONKTON,

Personal Secretary to Government.

From the Rajah of Nepaul, received on the 18*th March*, 1816.

"On the 21st Maug, 1872, Sumbut, corresponding with the 2nd February, 1816, I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, dated 13th January, stating that it was your hope and expectation to have been able to address me in the language of friendship and congratulation, on the renewal of the former relations of amity between the British government and the state of Nepaul; but that, unfortunately, that hope and that expectation had been defeated and frustrated by the

extraordinary conduct adopted by my government, in refusing to ratify a solemn treaty concluded by my authorized agents, stated by myself and my ministers to have been vested with full powers; intimating, however, at the same time, that there was yet time to avoid the danger to which I had exposed myself, namely, that the instant ratification of the treaty, and its transmission to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, would avert the impending evil, and would even induce your Lordship to consider the propriety of relaxing from the rigour of some parts of the engagement, but that any delay would be fatal; adding also, that your letter would be forwarded to me by the Major-General, who was vested with the command of the British force advancing into my territory, and with the conduct of all political affairs with my government.

"The relations of harmony and friendship between the Honourable English Company and this state, by the favour of the British government, had subsisted, without any differ-

ence of interest, for a period of fifty years; and my ancestors were always grateful for its kindness. I also had no other wish but that of conforming to ancient rule; and the British government likewise conducted itself, as usual, in the spirit of kindness. Were I, indeed, to attribute the late transactions either to error on my side, or to unkindness on the part of the British government, I should be wrong. I ascribe all this war and tumult solely to the malignity of fortune. I nevertheless flattered myself that your Lordship still had my welfare at heart.

"Accordingly, when your Lordship addressed your letter of friendly admonition to me, I considered the counsel and advice which it contained to be all for my own good. I wished, therefore, agreeably to your Lordship's injunctions, and for my own interests, to transmit the treaty by the hands of a confidential officer, to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony; but unfortunately, my evil destiny led me to delay its transmission, and, in the meantime,

Sir David Ochterlony advanced with the British army to Mandee, near Muckwanpore.

"As I had no other object in view than the restoration of peace and friendship between the two States, I successively dispatched Kajee Sing Thapa, and Chunder Seekur Opadheea, with the ratified treaty to Sir David Ochterlony, who, knowing your Lordship's favourable disposition towards me, and being himself also kindly disposed, opened a communication with Kajee Bukhtawur Sing, for the restoration of peace and amity, and received the treaty from the hands of that officer and Chunder Seekur Opadheea; delivering to them, at the same time in exchange, for the purpose of being forwarded to me, the counterpart of it, under your Lordship's seal and signature, which I have since received.

"Sir David Ochterlony caused Kajee Bukhtawur Sing and Chunder Seekur Opadheea to execute a separate engagement in the Hindee language (Ikarnama), the contents of which will be made known to your Lordship by the

Major-General's communications. I hereby con
firm that engagement.

"It only remains for me to express my hop
that your Lordship will manifest your generosit
and magnanimity in such a manner as t
secure to this state the same rank and con
sideration which it has hitherto enjoyed;
compliance with this request is not incon
sistent with the dictates of liberality an
benevolence.

"I trust that your Lordship, believing me t
be ever anxious for the pleasing accounts o

time; more particularly so, because the late period at which the operations had unavoidably been undertaken, after the interruption to the preparations which occurred in November and December, had made him apprehensive of the arrival of the unhealthy season before there would be time effectually to humble the enemy. Sir David himself, too, had discovered that the capture of Muckwanpore would be the limit of what could be effected this campaign, for he found it would not be safe to keep the troops in that valley after the middle of March; this, therefore, was not the least powerful of the motives which influenced him in granting the terms.

The articles of the treaty were all punctually executed according to agreement. The Supreme government thought, notwithstanding what had passed, that it would be a politic act of conciliation to give up such of the Turai as might not be required to form a straight and even frontier in lieu of the pensions stipulated in the treaty. The Marquis of Hastings therefore after every

article had been executed, gave notice to the Rajah of his intention to send the Honourable Edward Gardener to Khatmandoo as resident, and to empower him to conclude a new arrangement on that basis. This was subsequently effected, after a boundary had been surveyed and marked with pillars of masonry, to prevent the possibility of any future disputes between the Nepaulese officers and our Zumindars.

The part of the Turai which skirted the Oudh dominion was however retained, and with Khyreegurh, a pergunna of Rohilkund lying on the Oudh side of the Gogra, was made over to the Nuwab Vizeer, in extinction of the second loan of a crore of rupees obtained from him during the war.

With the Sikhimputee Rajah, a treaty was concluded by Major Latter, at Titaleea, on the 10th of February 1817 in which, amongst other articles, there is one guaranteeing the possessions of the Rajah to himself and his family. A small strip of the Turai also, lying between the Michhee and the Teesta (part of

what was retained under the final arrangements concluded with Nepaul) was ceded to this Rajah for a line of communication.

The policy of this guarantee cannot be doubted. Its effect has been to shut out the Nepaulese from any ambitious views of aggrandizement to the east, and to circumscribe their territory on three sides by the British power, while on the fourth the stupendous range of the Himalaya and the Chinese frontier, present an effectual barrier. Thus while the British and Chinese empires continue in their present strength, the hope of extending their dominion must be extinguished, and the military spirit which was fostered by the series of victories gained over the surrounding Rajahs, must die away for want of employment.

It now only remains to state the nature of the relations subsisting between the government of Nepaul and the celestial empire and the result of the application made to Pekin for assistance during the campaign 1814—15.

In the first government of Lord Cornwallis,

the Goorkhas have invaded Tibet and plundered the palace of the Teeshoo Lama at Jigurchee or Digurchee, a Chinese army was sent to punish them. The Goorkhas retired before it, but contrived to maintain themselves for some time without much loss. This produced an overture from the Chinese commander that the British should co-operate in a simultaneous attack on Nepaul. The proposition was not favourably received, and the Chinese having changed their General gained an important victory in the Tingree Desert, and thus succeeded at last in reducing the Nepaulese to submission. From that time Nepaul has been considered by the Chinese as a tributary country, and though nothing is demanded beyond some nominal offerings, still a legation proceeds every three years from Khatmandoo to renew the assurances of allegiance and good faith.

On the war breaking out with the British, the Nepaulese represented to the Court of Pekin that the difference had arisen in consequence of our having demanded the passes through

Heemâchul, which they as faithful allies, had refused to give. The Chinese attached no credit to the representation until they received, through their own officers, at Lassa, a long manifesto, in which the Supreme government, knowing the relations which existed between Khatmandoo and the Celestial Empire, thought it expedient to forward an explanation of the real cause of war.

The Chinese now argued that there might probably be some truth in what the Goorkhas had represented of our ambitious views, as so much pains were taken to disavow, or, as they conceived, to disguise them. Accordingly, it was determined, by the Court of Pekin, that a force should immediately be directed to the quarter menaced, and that one of the most confidential ministers, and a military man, should proceed to ascertain the state of things in Nepaul.

So slow were the Chinese in executing their determination, that the war was actually over before their army was heard of at Khatmandoo.

In September, 1816, however, the Governor-General received, through the Sikhim Rajah, a letter, written in scarcely intelligible Persian, from a person styling himself Shee Cheeoon Chang, Vizeer, or Prime Minister, the chief authority of Lassa, and another principal officer of the frontier. The object of the letter was to ask distinctly what were the views of the British government in that direction, and to state how they had been misrepresented. In the course of the same month, the Goorkhas, having heard that a Chinese force had arrived at Digurchee, or Jigurchee, in August, applied directly to the Resident to know whether in case the Chinese demanded any further submission beyond what had already been acceded to, they might depend on the co-operation of the British in resisting them.

In this state of things the Supreme government forbad any assurance of support to be given to the Nepaulese, lest it should encourage them in seeking cause of quarrel with the Chinese. The Governor-General also communicated a

statement of all that had occurred in reply to the letter which had been received through the Sikhim Rajah. With this answer, the Chinese authorities professed themselves satisfied, in so far as the British were concerned; they demanded, however, that some confidential agents from Nepaul should wait upon them, and the following account of what passed at the interview was obtained afterwards from a Cashmeerian of the suite.

The first visit was one of pure ceremony, but the Goorkha Vakeels, Dilbunjun Pande, and Colonel Runbeer Sing Thapa, waited again on Cheeoon Chang on the following day, when his excellency commenced by asking "What had become of the Pandes and Bishnawuth's?" (leaders of the expedition into Tibet before alluded to;) and he added, "Who are these Thapas that I never before heard of? You Goorkhas are a mischievous race, and have caused the ruin of many Rajahs. Digurchee, too, you plundered without cause or provocation, and now you have thought to act the

Digurchee scene with the English and so murdered their police-officer, after settling the question by negociation. You have been punished justly; you wrote us of war, and have since written of peace yet still ask our aid. What kind of peace is this?"

The Nepaulese urged that if not inclined to give assistance to recover what had been lost, the Chinese authorities would at least lend their good offices to procure the removal of the Residency from Khatmandoo.

Cheeoon Chang replied, "You wrote that it was to establish a factory that the English had come; why should I remove merchants?"

Dilbunjun, one of the Vakeels on this said: "They were not merchants, but soldiers and officers that they desired to be rid of."

Cheeoon Chang replied: "The English have written that their object is to cement peace; and it appears you have agreed to receive the Resident. You wrote us that the English had demanded the passes into Koten China, but we know this is false; if they desired

to come to China it would not be by that route."

Turning to Colonel Runbeer, the other Vakeel, Cheeoon Chang continued in a tone of irony: "You Goorkhas think the hills have no soldiers but yourselves: how many of you may there be? About two lakh, I suppose. And what is your revenue?"

Runbeer replied: "That his excellency was right in the number of fighting men; and that the revenue of the hill-country was very small not exceeding five lakh of rupees."

"Truly," said Cheeoon Chang, "you are a mighty nation," and with this he dismissed the Vakeels.

The Chinese were so fully satisfied with the intelligence procured on this occasion, that they immediately withdrew their troops from Digurchee and Lassa. They betrayed, however, a little jealousy at the establishment of a Resident at Khatmandoo, and in reply to a letter of the Governor-General, after stating that they were perfectly satisfied, the Vizier

introduced a hint that they should be still better pleased were he withdrawn. It was couched in the following terms:

"You mention that you have stationed a Vakeel in Nepaul. This is a matter of no consequence, but as the Rajah, from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the thing has imbibed some suspicions, if you would out of kindness towards us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your Vakeel from thence, it would be better, and we should feel very much obliged to you."

These minute details are perhaps too puerile to be recorded at such length, but as so little is known of the conduct pursued by the Chinese in their relations with other Asiatic powers, at the same time that there is an interest about everything that brings us politically into contact with them, it is hoped that this full account of their proceedings at Digurchee will not prove unamusing or out of place.

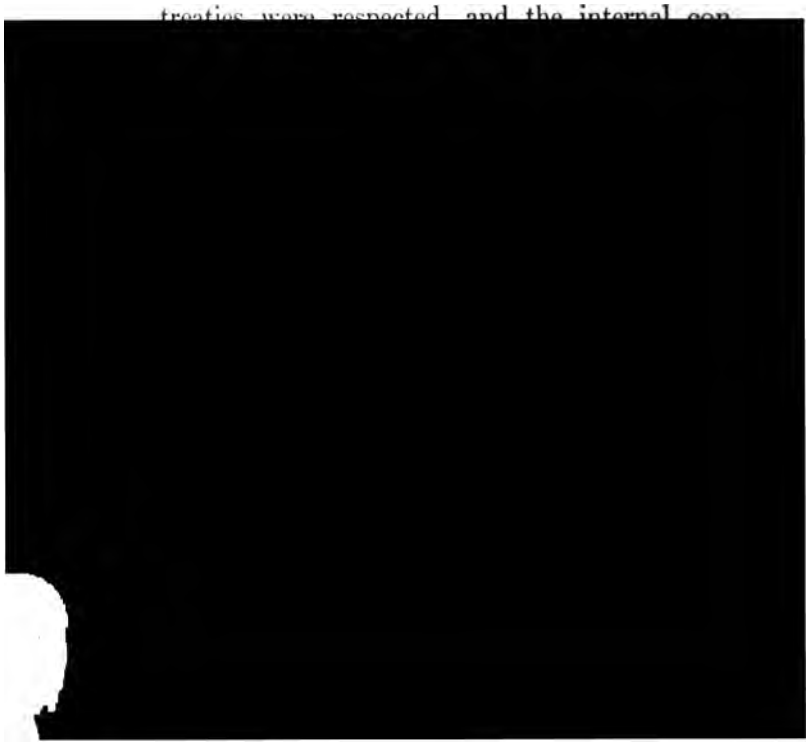
To the above statement of occurrences after the treaty, it only remains to add that the

young Rajah of Nepaul died on the 20th November 1816 of the small-pox, and was succeeded by an infant son named Raj Indur Bikrum Sah. This event contributed to fix more firmly the authority of the party of General Bhem Sing, by giving him another lease of uncontrolled dominion pending a second long minority.

CHAPTER III.

NEPAUL, SINCE THE WAR.

TWENTY-TWO years elapsed after the termination of the war, and no fresh ground for quarrel was presented by the Nepaulese. The



tools, they have been sacrificed as their victims. Bhem Sing was destined to fill a place in the latter category. The young Rajah having married the daughter of a Goruckpore farmer, a person of very inferior rank, she soon began to develop those qualities which almost invariably accompany the possession of power by those females who have not been trained to its exercise. As a wife, her conduct was exemplary: scandal had not touched her fair fame; but her disposition was restless in the extreme. She sighed for a share in the political authority of her husband; but she felt that, while Bhem Sing continued to possess the royal ear, and to influence the young King's action, she had not the remotest prospect of gratifying her desire. The overthrow and destruction of the Minister Regent were therefore, resolved upon.

But Bhem Sing, aware of the prejudices against him, took care to have the household entirely in his interest, and learning from his spies, about the person of the King and Queen,

that some mischief was brewing, he had recourse to an old political trick, which he believed would at once annihilate the prospects of his rival. He represented to the young Rajah, the great importance of his exercising individual sway in Nepaul, and securing the succession to his own heir. The young Queen never having borne him a son, it was recommended that his Majesty should seek a new partner, who might be more prolific. In this proposal, Bhem Sing received the cordial support of the priesthood, who foresaw, in the ceremonials consequent upon a royal wedding, abundance of opportunity for the gratification of their cupidity.

The King, whose passion for his wife had somewhat subsided, listened with pleasure to Bhem Sing's proposition, and the preliminaries being soon settled, another Goruckpore Zumindar supplied a daughter, for a consideration, and the King of the Goorkhas had a second wife. The prospect of a royal settle-

ment reconciled the latter to all the risks, which might naturally be expected to attend a rencontre with the discarded Queen.

Bhem Sing exulted over the success of his first political move; but he was not long destined to enjoy his triumph. The senior Queen, the *divorcée*, furious at her supercession consulted with the Pandee factions, the bitter enemies of Bhem Sing and the Thapa clan, and laid at the door of the minister a number of serious charges, each of which, if proved, would have sufficed to bring him to the scaffold. Among other crimes imputed to him, was that of beheading a number of Pandees, in order to consolidate his power after he had acquired the Regency. He was likewise charged with accumulating wealth by indirect means.

The King, too weak to resist the accumulation of calumny, strongly and continually pressed, and feeling perhaps that he no longer needed the aid of his once valuable minister, caused Bhem Sing to be imprisoned upon all

the charges; and in a very short time persecution reached its climax. The exact manner of his destruction was never ascertained; but Bhem Sing was found dead in his cell with his throat frightfully mangled. His body, by the order of the Rajah, was placed on the banks of the Bhagmuttee, and denied all favoured rites; a guard being placed over it by night and by day, to watch that none approached it but jackalls and vultures. His property confiscated, and all his relations treated as outcasts, his favourite nephew, Matabar Sing, fled to the British territory, where he found shelter.*

Two or three years after these occurrences, the Nepaulese began to betray their old weakness. Wisdom had fled from their councils with the spirit of Bhem Sing, and the restlessness which had led them into collisions with their neighbours revived.

About this time, the British government

* Matabar Sing had previously paid a visit to Calcutta at the head of a complimentary mission. He was much admired and *fêted*.

had embarked on the Affghanistan policy, which led to the occupation of Cabul by a British force; and the Nepaulese, ignorant of our real strength, conceived that the time had arrived for concerting, with the cabinets of Lahore and Gwalior, an attack upon our (supposed) undefended possessions. Anticipating their assent to a proposal for driving us out of India, the infatuated Rajah commenced operations by seizing upon four hundred villages, which he was afterwards obliged, most reluctantly to surrender. Coevally with the mission to the Punjab and the Gwalior state, an embassy was despatched to Pekin for assistance, in men and money, against the English. As, however, Nepaul was at this time tributary to China, in consequence of her having some fifty years since invaded the Chinese territory, and committed great depredations, the Celestial Emperor treated the embassy as a piece of great impertinence, and made it a pretext for dispatching a large Tartar force to Nay-a-Rote, only three marches from Estnordoo, the Goorkha

capital, a measure which excited so much alarm, that the Nepaulese were glad to sue for pardon on any terms. The pardon was granted conditionally, that an additional tribute of £10,000 was sent overland every five years to Pekin, and the pre-eminence of China acknowledged. China, doubtless, had her reasons for refusing to co-operate in any wild measures of offence against the British power in India, for she had just began to feel the influence of our arms on her coasts and fortified towns.

At the period of which we treat, the British Minister at the Court of Nepaul was Mr. W. H. Hodgson, of the Bengal Civil Service, an amiable man, devoted to the pursuits of science, and so accustomed to a serene political atmosphere, as scarcely to perceive the full extent of the mischief meditated by the Cabinet of Khatmandoo. Aroused, however, by the violent seizure of the villages afore-mentioned, he soon made adequate representations to the Government of India; and the consequence was, that a British force was sent to the

frontier to check any threatened invasion of the territory, and to act in such a way as circumstances might dictate.

The command of this force was given to Colonel Oglander, of the 26th Cameronians; and for two years it was kept on the frontier without firing a shot. It had, however, one remarkable effect, namely, the dismissal of the so-called war faction (the Pandee Ministry), and the appointment of a new government, called the Chountra Ministry, at the head of whom was one Futty Jung, who was said to be the friend of peace and order, and well disposed towards the British government. Indeed, the other chiefs of Nepaul hesitated not to call the Chountras the 'British Ministry;' and during the time the British troops remained on the frontier, they certainly showed every disposition to be on friendly terms with our government.

But the many subsequent threatened invasions of the Goorkhas, appearing to the British authorities to have principally for their object, the keeping in power those who were unable

to maintain it without such a demonstration, it was determined to withdraw the force, leaving only one cavalry regiment at Segoulee, as a corps of observation, and to insure, if necessary, a safe retreat for the British Resident and his party.

The Chountra Ministry soon discovering that without some countenance from the British government, they were in considerable danger, became most urgent that the force might return; but to this our government would not listen, and the downfall of the Chountras became hourly more certain, and party-spirit to rage higher than ever. The King and the Durbar now evinced violent hostility towards the British Resident, and several scenes occurred which were remarkable for a rare mixture of absurdity and danger.*

* Upon one occasion the King came down to the Residency, accompanied by several chiefs and a large body of troops, and demanded that a British merchant, who had been trading for some years in Nepaul, and was within the walls of the Residency, should be given

In the midst of his dilemma, the King now determined upon getting Matabar Sing back to his dominions, and accordingly missions were sent to induce him to return, offering him the situation of Prime Minister, and promising the restoration of all the property of his late uncle, Bhem Sing, which had been confiscated.

up. The merchant had become a party to a civil suit in the Nepaul Court of Law; but not having appeared in answer to a summons, judgment was given against him, and he became (the Nepaulese said) amenable to their penal laws. The British Resident deeming him a proper object of protection, refused to surrender his person. The Rajah waxed insolent, threatened immediate coercion, and even gave an order for the seizure of the merchant. The writer, being then in command of the escort, resisted the execution of this order, and assuming an attitude of defiance, alarmed the Nepaulese and his chiefs, and compelled them to withdraw themselves and their pretensions.

A few days after this—the Court being then in mourning for the senior Queen, neither the King nor chiefs, were allowed for a certain period, to ride either in carriages or on horseback—the King and heir apparent having had a quarrel, and a serious disturbance taking

He at first refused, but at length listened to the proposals, and unfortunately for himself, returned.

He was received by the King and heir apparent with the greatest distinction, and at once offered the premiership. This he declined, until

place in the palace, determined upon coming down to the Residency; the heir apparent insisting that the Rajah should accompany him. It had been raining heavily in the morning, and about twelve o'clock we were informed that the Rajah and heir apparent were outside the Residency gates. We went out to meet them, and there found the Rajah and his son mounted on the backs of two very decrepit old chiefs. The heir apparent requested the Rajah at once to give us the order to pack up, and take our departure for the plains. The Rajah refused, whereupon the heir apparent abused him most grossly, and urging his old chief close up to the Rajah, assaulted him. A fight ensued, and after scratching and pulling each other's hair for some time, the son got hold of his father, pulled him over, and down they went, chiefs and all, into a very dirty puddle. The two old nags extricating themselves, hobbled away as fast as they could, as did the other followers from fear. After rolling in the muddy water,

his deadly enemies, the Pandee ministers, had been destroyed.

The Rajah consented to do so on condition, that after the destruction of the Pandees, Matabar Sing was in turn to destroy the Chountra ministers, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to his Majesty, by thwarting his views in regard to the invasion of the British territory, and also in having coerced the Rajah, by causing a mutiny among his troops, and making him a prisoner in his palace until he signed sundry documents, binding himself to put an end to the numerous cruelties and insults inflicted upon some of the most influential chiefs in Nepaul. These the Rajah signed, but only to break them a very few hours after he had signed them. Matabar Sing undertook this without well considering his task. The late Pandee ministers were immediately arrested and ar-

up got the now two dirty Kings, and after some little delay, fresh nags were obtained, and the Rajah and his son were taken home.

raigned for high misdemeanours before a council of chiefs, who, under the Rajah's instructions, found them guilty of all matters laid to their charge. They were sentenced to be beheaded, which sentence was duly carried into effect, and in a few hours the headless trunks of nine Pandee chiefs lay on the banks of the Bhagmuttee River. It will hardly be believed, that one of the charges laid against these unfortunate men, was that they had endeavoured to persuade their innocent sovereign to wage war against the British government.

The unhappy creatures did only what other ministers had done—acquiescing in, and recommending that which they had found best pleased their sovereign.

The King now called upon Matabar Sing to perform his part in the Nepaul tragedy; he promised compliance, but soon ascertained that the wholesale destruction of the Pandee ministers had united the chiefs in one common cause, to the oblivion of all their former feuds. Despairing of a successful fulfilment of his

undertaking, Matabar Sing, who had always been an opium eater, now took it in excess, and gave himself up to all kinds of indulgences, rarely going to Durbar. The Rajah became displeased, and there were those about him, who, dreading Matabar Sing, lost no opportunity to injure him. The unfortunate Matabar was aroused at eleven o'clock at night, and a peremptory order for his attendance compelled him to appear at court. The Rajah grossly abused him, in which he was ably aided by the heir apparent, telling him he was a traitor, and that he had caused him by his false representations, to destroy the late Pandee ministers, who he now found were innocent.

A signal was then given, and twenty soldiers moved up with loaded muskets; the Rajah ordered them to fire at and destroy the traitor. The unfortunate Matabar fell frightfully wounded, and in this state he implored mercy. But the Rajah ordered the soldiers to reload and despatch him. This murder oc-

curred in the upper rooms of the palace, being about four stories high. His body was ordered to be tied up in a blanket, and thrown out of the window to the court below, where a party were waiting for it; they immediately carried it to a funeral pile prepared some days before, and in half an hour there was not a vestige of Matabar Sing.

After the death of Matabar Sing, the Chountra ministry were once more requested to take office; they did so reluctantly, but held it for a very short time. Sirdar Gungun Sing, a man of low origin, but a faithful servant of the second Queen, and the tutor of her two sons, was shortly after this shot dead near the Queen's palace; by whose orders is doubtful, but the result was a frightful massacre, which lasted for three days. Upwards of seventy chiefs were killed, and among these the minister, Futty Jung Chountra. At the termination of this, the Rajah fled to Nepaul; the ex-King seeking safety at Benares, which his equally cruel and

mad ancestor, Run Bahadur, had done nearly fifty years before.

The successes of the British army in the Punjaub, and the total overthrow of the Gwalior government following upon the retributory war in Affghanistan, the Nepaulese have become completely satisfied of our invincibility, and now endeavour to draw close the bonds of amity subsisting between the British and Khatmandoo Courts. In furtherance of this object, a mission was two years since dispatched to England, whose visit was of a sufficiently interesting character to render it worthy of a separate chapter. In justice, however, to the present sovereign, it should be stated that he is not pugnaciously inclined. His name and title are Maharaja Girivan Juddha Bickram Sah. When I had the honour of making his acquaintance, he was heir apparent to the throne.

He is now in his twenty-fifth year; his features good, nose aquiline, with nothing of the Goorkha cast of countenance. His mother

and grandmother, being both natives of the plains, doubtlessly vastly improved the *nasal* organ of the Royal house of Nepaul. As Prince Regent, the King gave loose to a very violent temper, but many of these displays doubtless arose from the character of his father, who, being dead, may now have left him without motive for his irritability.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEPAULESE MISSION TO ENGLAND.

TOWARDS the middle of the gay London season of 1850, when an unexampled amount of rank, fashion, and wealth, was on the full tide of enjoyment; intelligence arrived from India that an ambassador from Nepaul might shortly be expected, covered with "barbaric pearl and gold," and bearing costly presents for Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.

As London was, at the moment, strange to say, without a *lion* of any kind, this news created prodigious excitement. It was not, however, for any length of time the herald

of the mission. Thanks to the velocity of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer, a fortnight after the ambassador and suite arrived at Southampton, fulfilling, by the brilliancy of their appearance, the most ardent expectations of the curious. Few cared to inquire—and, indeed, inquiry would have been fruitless—into the real (political) objects of their mission. It was sufficient that their costume was splendidly martial, their bearing gallant, their liberality profuse, and their diamonds and pearls undeniable.

The members of the mission were, His Excellency General Jung Bahadoor Koorman Ranagee, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the kingdom of Nepaul; Colonel Juggut Shumshere Koorman Ranagee, and Colonel Dheer Shumshere Koorman Ranagee, brothers of the general; Captain Rummihir Sing Adhikaree Kajee Kurbeer Khutree, Captain Hemdul Sing Thappa, Lieutenant Kurbeer Kutree, Lieutenant Lall Sing Khutree, and Lieutenant Bhem Sing Rana. They had been

mostly promoted since 1843, with the exceptof Kurbeer Khutree, a well-tried political emissary to the Emperor of China, who has travelled the overland route from Nepaul to Pekin oftener than any subject living of Nepaul. The chief of the mission was a Thappa, and the nephew of the late General Matabar Sing, who, for a short time also was Commander-in-Chief of the Goorkha forces, and whose fate is described in the foregoing chapter.

General Jung Bahadoor, was about twenty-eight years of age, active, shrewd, and intelligent, well inclined to associate with, and adopt many English customs, a good shot, and first-rate sportsman, faithfully attached to his sovereign, and there is little he would not do to serve him.

He had witnessed some strange doings at his court, and the downfall during the late King's reign of five successive ministries. I well remember his uncle, Matabar Sing, remarking one day, that he found he had been

rapidly ascending a ladder, and now discovered he had the very unpleasant duty to perform, of going down the other side. He added, that he should indeed consider himself highly favoured, if allowed to take his time in the descent, instead of illustrating the *facilis descensus*, by taking one step from the top to the bottom.

The other members of the mission held different appointments under the several ministries, and the Kajee (then Sirdar), Delhi Sing, was the head of the elephant-catching department, and a very intelligent active performer he proved himself to be. He is also a very faithful servant of the state, for I fancy there is nothing he would not do at his sovereign's bidding. Lieutenant Lall Sing was adjutant of the "Hemdhull" Goorkha regiment, a very sharp, intelligent man. He was for some months on duty at the British Residency as Soubadar, when the Chountra ministry were in power. He has likewise witnessed the glorious uncertainty attending

the privilege of wearing one's head in the kingdom of Nepaul. The other members of the mission were good specimens of the Nepaul nobility.

One of them, Captain Kajee Kurbeer Khutree, filled a place in a former mission in India, which did not prove either lucrative to himself, or satisfactory to his sovereign.

Accompanying the mission was an officer of the Bengal army, Captain Cavanagh, in what is called "political charge," though the object of such denominations has since been satisfactorily ascertained. There was also an interpreter, a Mr. D. Macleod, who had at one time been a pleader in the Calcutta Courts, and afterwards a deputy collector and magistrate in the uncovenanted service of the East India Company.

The mission arriving in England at the time of Her Majesty's *accouchement*, could not be immediately received at Court. It was soon, however, understood that the ambassador was properly accredited, and that nothing was

requisite but the ordinary formalities to give him his proper place. This was enough for the British aristocracy. The plain "General" was immediately elevated to the titular distinction of "Prince," and the dignity conferred by common consent on his stolid, Tartar-looking brothers. Invitations from every "distinguished" host or hostess rained upon them, and the mission in their turn commenced, upon a large scale, playing patron to every public place of amusement.

"His Excellency" figured daily in the "Morning Post" as the guest at some remarkable *soirée*, or the visitor of some theatre or al fresco fête. The East India Company invited the General and suite to be present at a public dinner, refreshments being served up to them in a separate room.

The Peninsular and Oriental Company, in one of whose fine steamers they had come to England at a charge of £5,000, gave them a ball. The Artillery at Woolwich, the Guards in the park, were reviewed before them, and the military

authorities *(risum teneatis)* coveted their critical applause! Managers of public places of recreation held out their coming as baits to the populace, and the baits *took*, though the Princes did not always *go*. The Press, aroused at the excitement the "illustrious strangers" produced, devoted articles to brief (and erroneous) descriptions of Nepaul, circulated a variety of absurd, apocryphal anecdotes, or wrote lively satires of their appearance. The following are some of the best descriptive papers:

From the "Atlas."

"When the season waxed, and grew middle-aged, and when concerts, exhibitions, operas, fêtes, and balls were in their full swing and most sparkling height, one of the gallant boats of the Peninsular Steam Company crossed the Bay of Biscay, and landed upon English ground the Princes of Nepaul. They came, they were seen, and forthwith they conquered. We have said that they arrived in a steam-boat. To look at the lustre of their retinue, to count the

diamonds which sparkled on their brown skins, to mark the gemmed turbans, the jewelled aigrets, the white bird of Paradise plumes—who would not have been forgiven for believing that the whole party might be an incarnation from the "Arabian Nights," whisked thither in an hour from Bagdad or a city of Cathay, attended by the Fairy Pari Banou, with Solomon's seal in their carpet-bags, and journeying with passports covered with hieroglyphics and stars, the genuine autographs of the King of the Genii? Coming in this guise, lavishing diamonds and gold, enshrined in a halo of oriental mystery, the Nepaul Embassy became at once the talk of the town.

"Wonderful rumours of his prowess as a warrior, and an intrigant of the ambassador, were buzzed about in the salons, the clubs, and the gossipy alleys of the operas. Did he commonly bow-string his footmen and drown his wives in a bag? One likes to see, quietly listening to "Norma," or driving through Piccadilly, a swarthy gentleman, whose every-day

practice it is, in his own country, when freed from the conventional restraints of what we call society, to cut off the blundering head of Selim with a scimitar, or with oriental gravity and decorum to introduce the frail and flirting Fatima to the recesses of a clean rice sack, and thence to the muddy bottom of an eastern stream, very slow and very deep.

"Impressed with such notions, vast admirers of jewellery, great favourers of interesting foreigners, and inordinate worshippers of Princes, all the world looked with applauding eyes upon him of Nepaul. He was fêted, courted — perhaps a little bit toadied — and maintained his rank as the very greatest curiosity, until — alas! for human stability — a ship of the same line which introduced the brown and illustrious stranger to our shores, made its appearance with a still rarer, at all events a still newer, object of curiosity; and according one bright, summer morning, in utter defiance of all natural history, the Hippopo-

tamus of the banks of the Nile became the Lion of the banks of the Thames!"

The "Indian News" wrote:

"Our Nepaulese guests have abundantly partaken of the national hospitality. They have been lionized in public and private. Armies have been paraded before them, and royalty itself has been their *cicerone*. No evening party having the slightest pretensions to the aristocracy of either rank, wealth, or talent, is held to be complete without their presence. And this is as it should be. They visited our shores *dona ferentes;* they have spent their money among us with a liberality amounting to profusion, and they have received our hospitalities with a full appreciation of the spirit in which they have been offered. All this, we repeat, is as it should be; but the moral constitution of an Englishman is peculiar, and, it would seem, as much subject to the influences of climate as his natural one. Let him but round the Cape, or traverse the

Desert, and the atmosphere of India produces a singular revolution in his opinions on questions of colour, individuals of the caste and complexion of those fêted Nepaulese being regarded, not merely with indifference but with contempt.

"True it is, the English officer and civilian undergoes a process of *colouring* as gradual, but as complete, as that of the bowl of a *meerschaum;* brown supervenes upon yellow, and bronze upon brown, until, as in some specimens we have seen, to 'such complexion does he come at last,' that an ayah might as reasonably hope to be accounted one of the fair sex, as he to establish his European origin on the *prima facie* evidence of his countenance. And yet he cannot endure a taint of the tawny in a native.

"We have adverted to this subject for the purpose of exhibiting the inconsistency and folly of the prejudice prevailing in India, on the part of the white, against the coloured, population. We have, on former occasions, en-

deavoured to show the ill effects of this feeling, as evinced by the European, towards the native, officers; who being thus shut out from the sympathies of their superiors, are thrown back upon those of the private soldier, to the great detriment of the discipline and efficiency of the army. We hope, indeed we believe, that more enlightened opinions are gaining ground in India, and that, as the intellectual powers of the natives become developed, a better order of things will obtain."

Describing the visit of the Embassy to Woolwich, the correspondent of one of the provincial papers said:

"They appeared to be particularly struck by the machinery of the carriage department. The drawing out of masses of iron into bars, by the passing of them several times between cylinders, also appeared to rivet their attention. An explosion during this operation, arising from we know not what cause, startled a few of the ladies who were present, and scattered the particles of red-hot iron in all directions.

The laboratory, especially, was inspected by the Ambassador with great minuteness; the making and filling of percussion caps, and the manufacture of bullets, not by casting, but pressure—and all by machinery—were also exhibited and explained to them. The elder brother appeared to look at every thing with a professional eye, and as if nothing was lost upon him. An occasional ejaculation sufficiently manifested the wonder which many of the objects presented to him excited in his mind, but his manner throughout — and the remark applies in a greater or less degree to his brothers and their suite—was calm, subdued, and dignified."

From these general accounts of the movements of the members of the mission, the Press went into particulars, and the General Jung Bahadoor himself, was specially the object of homage and of falsehood. His portrait appeared in the "Illustrated News," accompanied by an account of his having ridden a horse up the lofty granary at Patna—a feat often achieved by English horsemen,

Quadrilles and polkas were published, with portraits of the "Prince" as frontispieces, and the whole was capped by a long letter in the "Times," (from Calcutta).

On the recovery of Her Majesty, a court and drawing-room were held at St James', at which General Jung Bahadoor delivered his credentials, and was kindly received. An invitation to the palace followed.

The following anecdotes regarding the Nepaulese Minister appeared lately in a popular periodical, and may be accepted as genuine.

Jung Bahadoor was (is?) one of the most remarkable men of the day. His vault into the saddle of Commander-in-chief and Prime Minister of Nepaul, though not unmarked by bloodshed, was strong evidence of his daring and resolute spirit. He had risen to a sufficiently distinguished position in the Nepaulese army to become an object of apprehension to the feeble and treacherous Court. His death by violence was resolved upon, and orders given to the executioner. A slave-girl who had, at

one time, enjoyed the love of the hardy mountaineer heard of their intentions. Her affection and solicitude revived. She flew to him immediately, communicated all she knew, and bade him be on his guard. Swearing her to the truth of her allegations and enjoining her silence, Jung Bahadoor at once summoned his brothers (the men who accompanied him to England), revealed to them the state of affairs, and being assured of their sympathy and their determination to fall in his defence, he commanded them to load their rifles, gird on their swords, and accompany him to the palace. They obeyed. In a few minutes they were on their way to the royal residence. The king was in durbar (council), and the prime minister, the instigator of Jung Bahadoor's destruction, sat upon his right hand. Arrived at the palace stairs, Jung Bahadoor and his brothers were challenged by the sentinel. One flourish of the sabre, and the sentinel's head rolled on the floor. Higher up the steps they were again challenged — the second party shared the fate of the first.

Entering the hall of audience, the enraged youth advanced to the foot of the throne, and holding out the order for execution, of which he had obtained possession, asked the minister if that was not his handwriting and the King's sign manual? Before a reply could be given, Jung Bahadoor levelled his rifle at the minister and shot him dead. He then seized the body and flung it out of the window. A tumult arose. "What!" exclaimed Jung Bahadoor; "is it worth while making all this noise for a dead body?" Seeing the panic-stricken state of the King, Jung Bahadoor presented a warrant for his own appointment to the office of prime minister and commander-in-chief, which the King was but too ready to sign.

This *coup d'état*, alarming, as it did, the rest of the Court, insured for the new minister a tranquil existence and possession of office; but at length the adherents of the previous minister and his own partisans began to murmur: the former taking courage from the discontent of the latter, who had not reaped the

full extent of the reward they anticipated. This rendered the minister's life irksome to him, and he cast about for some excuse to leave the kingdom temporarily. A visit to England as ambassador was suggested to him. He caught at the idea with avidity. The King gladly adopted it, for the presence of a minister who had thrust himself into service, was anything but agreeable.

The arrangements of Jung Bahadoor for his reception at the court of Queen Victoria, were characteristic of his good taste and originality. "Of what avail is it," said he, "to carry wealth to the wealthiest of potentates? Better far to lay at her feet what money cannot purchase." In this spirit he called around him the principal mountain chiefs, and apprising them of his contemplated departure, asked of each, one of the weapons of war most valued by their family, and which had descended as an heir-loom from the most renowned and war-like of their ancestors. His request was acceded to with promptitude. And these were the presents

which accompanied his credentials. He had rightly judged the character of the Queen of England. The simplicity and peculiarity of the gifts imparted to all a rare value.

At the Court of Great Britain, Jung Bahadoor was as much admired for the *naïveté* of his replies as for the brilliancy of his costume. "What strikes your Highness as most extraordinary in this country?" asked one of the ministers of the Nepaulese Vakeel. "It is," replied he, "the sight of the first lady of the land standing for several hours to receive the homage of the humblest of her subjects."

This spectacle especially excited his wonder and admiration, but scarcely inferior to these emotions was the astonishment produced by the police, which he called '*Polis!*' How a body of armed men, quiet and unobtrusive in their manner, possessing no external marks of personal fierceness or official authority, could preserve the peace in such an immense metropolis, he could not understand. For the first few days the crowded streets, and the

impromptu *cortèges* of the embassy, disturbed the nerves of the Envoy's party, but they were soon reassured by the steady guardianship of the police.

As another proof of the graceful nature of his replies, may be instanced his remark on being introduced to Lord Gough. "What is meant by Jung Bahadoor?" asked the hero of Chillianwallah and Guzerat.

"The mighty in war, my lord," was the reply of the interpreter.

"And a very good name, too, for a brave man like his Highness!" observed Lord Gough.

"Tell the General," said the Nepaulese chieftain, "that my name is the result of the accident of birth—it is my *nuseeb*. His lordship is the true Jung Bahadoor, for he has *earned* the title."

An instance of the decision of the envoy's character occurs to us. He was very fond of horses, and especially of those of high action. One morning he paid a visit to the stables of a well known dealer in Piccadilly. The ap-

pearance of a horse struck him. He asked the price, and was told 300 guineas. "Let me see if he can leap," said Jung Bahadoor. The dealer answered that he was a Park horse, and had not been trained to leaping. Without further ceremony, the Nepaulese took off his watch, neck-chain and girdle, his turban and his sword, and commanded one of his aides-dê-camp (a brother) to hold a drawn sword several feet from the ground, as he proposed to take the horse over it. The dealer stood aghast. The horse would assuredly break his knees; he had never tried a leap; failure was inevitable. Jung Bahadoor insisted, putting a stop to all remonstrances by the princely assurance that he would pay for the horse if he was injured. He then mounted the animal, rode him once up the "ride," and then took the leap with the greatest ease. The dealer now raised his price. He asked 400 guineas—he had no idea the horse had it in him—he could not think of parting with such a treasure for the original sum! "Tell him," said the gallant Nepaulese to his

interpreter, while he resumed his watch, turban, &c., "I am now going out of his yard. If he will take 200 guineas I will pay him at once. If he does not decide before I visit yonder posts I will reduce the offer to 150 guineas. If he is undetermined when I get to the gate I shall only offer 125; and if he allows me to get into my carriage without closing the bargain I shall only give him 100 guineas." The dealer protested—entreated—argued—following the envoy the while. Jung Bahadoor reached his carriage, sprang in—the dealer consented to take the one hundred guineas! Jung Bahadoor gave him one hundred and twenty five.

At a bargain the envoy displayed all the huckstering qualities of his countrymen, but he was by no means destitute of generosity. Labouring under the consequences of a dissipation to which mountaineers are unaccustomed, Jung Bahadoor found it necessary to consult Sir Benjamin Brodie. Under the hands of that skilful practitioner, the envoy soon recovered, and upon

the occasion of Sir Benjamin Brodie's last visit he placed upon the table a bag containing 500 sovereigns, telling him that was his fee. Sir Benjamin, with characteristic delicacy, refused it. The envoy pressed it, and even became warm under Sir Benjamin's persevering repugnance to accept a sum so much in excess of professional usage. At length Sir Benjamin yielded so far as to take one hundred guineas, rather than offend the envoy; but how did he accommodate even this sum to his nice conscience? He immediately purchased a beautiful set of surgical instruments, which could not have cost less than seventy-five guineas, and sent it with his compliments to Jung Bahadoor, thus retaining but twenty-five guineas for his services. Such anecdotes are creditable to both parties.

In all athletic and other manly sports Jung Bahadoor was a proficient. At Angelo's fencing rooms he eclipsed some of the finest swordsmen, and one of his *suite*, an excellent wrestler, trying a fall with a crack hand, threw

him successively with great violence. Jung Bahadoor immediately gave the discomfited party a handful of gold.

As a marksman he was unrivalled. He had a practice, both in London and in Paris, of going about in plain clothes with his secretary. Thus attired, he looked like a Spaniard or South American. On one occasion, disguised in this way, he went into a shooting gallery in Paris, and deeming himself a match for the men who were there firing at a mark, he placed a rouleau of Napoleons upon the top of the target, and challenged any one to compete with him. The challenge was accepted; but the Frenchmen soon found that he was more than a match for the best of them. At each shot a Napoleon or more was dislodged, while the rouleau of Jung Bahadoor's antagonist remained untouched.

One more incident, and enough will have been said to demonstrate that the "Lion of 1850" was no common man. When accounts were being settled between the envoy and the

French tradespeople, one of the *suite* demurred to a charge for five francs, which he protested was unjust. Jung Bahadoor, who had a horror of being "done," upheld his follower in his resistance to the demand. The suitor resorted to the law, and when Jung Bahadoor was on the point of departing, the progress of his carriage and horses was impeded by the instruments of the French police. He sprang from his carriage, drew his sword, threatened to cut down whomsoever opposed his progress. Then rushing to the embassy, he called upon Lord Normanby to interfere, and proceeded *en route*. Arrived at Marseilles he learnt to his great vexation that, after all, his follower had paid the money. Indignant that he should have been exposed to annoyance for so small a matter, he called the officer before him. "Now," said he, "you have subjected me to a painful humiliation. I sentence you to pay a fine of 200 rupees (£20.)" "Alas, your excellency, I have not one rupee." "Come here, give me your sword." The follower

obeyed. Tearing off the sword-knot of bullion, "There," said the envoy, "that, when melted down will yield the money. Go!"

Such was the mountain chief, who, during his stay in England, was followed for his glittering costume and supposed wealth. Sufficient of his history was known to obtain for him the reputation of great hardihood, but few persons were aware that in the breast of this untutored Nepaulese, there beat a heart attuned to the finest impulses, and a taste which needed no cultivation to help its possessor to appreciate the talents most palatable to our artificial community. When asked by her Majesty why he liked the singing of Grisi, whose language he did not comprehend, he promptly replied: "We hear the bulbul, and we enjoy its notes. Do we understand what its song sayeth?"

The determined manner in which Jung Bahadoor put down the conspiracy to destroy him on his return to Nepaul, and the signal vengeance which he took upon the officer who accompanied

him to England, and scandalized him in India, we shall have occasion hereafter to mention.

The embassy now prepared to return to India. Previous, however, to their embarkation, a visit to the provinces, to Scotland and France was resolved upon, and performed. The only circumstance which seemed to embarrass the officers of the mission, was the cooking their food and the performance of their necessary ablutions. Every pains were taken in England to meet their prejudices in these respects, but the occasional failure to suit the emergency was productive of amazing occurrences. The following anecdote is from a Lancaster paper:

"The Nepaulese Ambassador and suite passed through Lancaster on Wednesday last, by the morning down mail, *en route* for Glasgow. Whilst the train was stopping at the Castle station, an incident occurred which exhibited a characteristic of the religion of these Oriental visitors. His highness being thirsty the interpreter inquired for some water, and, in the emergency, one of the porters

hastily procured it in one of the men's coffee cans. This not being accepted, and the porter supposing the vessel was too plebeian for his highness to use, a clean tumbler glass, containing the pure element, was tendered, but also solemnly rejected. In this dilemma his Highness or Magnificence, as the splendour of his costume would warrant his being styled, caught sight of the stand-pipe and hose by which the engines are supplied with water, and supposing it to be a spring, endeavoured to find where he could dip in his own drinking-cup, and procure water unpolluted by contact with any vessel in Christian use. The whole party curiously examined the water-pipe, but of course could make nothing of it, and returned to the train with his Highness's want unsatisfied."

After the minister had left England, the annexed letter appeared in the "Times."

Calcutta, April 7.

"The visit of the Nepaul minister will be, I imagine, the most remarkable one you have received this century.

"Rammohun Roy was a clever, quiet, intellectual Bengalee Hindoo gentleman, who, I believe, turned Unitarian, and died in England. Dwarkanâth Tagore, whom the good folks at home appeared to think a very great man, was a humbug; in fact, he was *rich* only, or thought to be so. The Pasha of Egypt, was comparatively next door to you, and a Mahommedan; but our "Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Nepaulese," fresh from his mountains, is a genuine and most strict Hindoo. A nobleman of the Rajpoot caste, and the Goorkha tribe, the most valiant, and now nearly sole independent of the native states.

"As he will probably remain in England two or three months, you may perhaps see, and will I am sure be interested by him. He is thirty-two years of age only, rather slight in figure, but neatly formed; strong, firm, and agile as a hart; forming a strong contrast with his two stout, or rather fat, brothers who accompany him. His features are of the Tartar caste. He appears to have great physical courage.

"On his way down to Calcutta in the steamer, passing through the jungly shores of the Soonderbunds, some object of game exciting his attention, regardless of tigers and alligators, and to the great alarm of his followers, he jumped overboard into the water or mud, but returned equally safe and unsuccessful.

"I have said nothing of his history in my letters to our sisters; it might horrify their feminine, and startle your European feelings, but will add to the romantic interest of your visitor. He is, or rather was, nephew to the late Prime Minister of Nepaul, Matabar Sing, who, with his regiment of Goorkhas, visited Calcutta some few years back. About four years ago, this young man (Jung Bahadoor) discovered that his uncle, the minister, had conspired against the lives of himself and brothers, for what reason I know not; whereupon, slinging his double-barrelled rifle over his shoulder, he proceeded to the Durbar council and (council-room), confronted the minister, and charged him with the intent.

The latter hesitated, and they speedily came to hot words, when our hero, unslinging his gun, shot the said minister dead upon the spot.

"A bloody fray then ensued between the Durbaree people and Sree Jung and his brothers (he has some six or seven), who were with him. The former were nearly all cut to pieces. Sree Jung, with the loss of one brother killed in the fray, was victorious; and immediately, all bloody as he was, his gun upon his shoulder, hastened to the King, told his own story, declared it was in self-preservation, and demanded the royal sentence at once.

"The monarch, however, thinking it better to conciliate such a spirit, told him in reply, that he had no doubt the slain minister had been in the wrong and he in the right, on which, "staying no further question," he hurried back to the Durbar, and immediately proclaimed himself Prime Minister.

"Now I certainly did not receive this story from his own lips, but from those of a gentle-

man who came down with him in the steamer. I believe it, however, to be perfectly correct. Of course, in giving you this anecdote, I should be sorry if the spirit of

"'——— our fiercer Orientalism
Should somewhat shock your western sentimentalism,'

"I should be sorry, that is, to prejudice his reception amongst any who, ignorant of the elements of Asiatic character, of Asiatic education, mind, morals, doctrines and opinions, might regard him as a sort of George Barnwell or ordinary cut-throat. On the contrary, his manners, his abilities, his tact, and energy have alike confirmed him in the good-will of the Nepaulese army and people; and I look upon his visit to England as one of the many gradual but sure measures and steps by which the Almighty is paving Asia with civilization.

"His power as minister is unbounded (over life and death), and is indeed greater than that of his sovereign. I suspect that, like Macbeth, 'he shall be king hereafter.' The present one

(whom, in point of fact, Sree Jung placed on the throne) is nothing, or little more than a boy, and a puppet. Intelligent, energetic, high spirited, ambitious, inquisitive, and politic; knowing that the Company's charter is nearly out, and observing that our conquests are extending right and left, he probably thinks it well to conciliate the Queen of England on her throne.

"His visit, therefore (of which no one knows the precise object), may probably arise from mixed feelings and motives of policy, ambition, curiosity, and a love of show and adventure. He gave me to understand that his leaving Nepaul on this mission was much opposed, and that he had to steal away, as it were, to effect it.

"It is to be hoped that you English will not kill him with balls, routs, late hours, coughs and colds. Cold, however, is his element. Were he not to return safe, his brothers and attendants would not dare, I am told, to return to Nepaul.

"Previous to the return of the troops which had escorted him here, I witnessed his leave-taking. First, the officers, after each receiving either pay or a present of money (which he and his brothers touched) stood in front, and one by one addressed him. He replied, and after some reluctance, as it appeared to me, and many repeated salams, withdrew. They had of course spoken in Goorkha, but on their leaving he turned and explained to me in Hindostanee the purport of their address.

"'They say it is putting shame upon them that they have to return to Nepaul without me, that they brought me in safety here, and it is equally their duty and their desire to take me back in safety,' so I told them, 'It is well—on my return from England you can do so; come down again to Calcutta, and take me back to Nepaul. They can't understand,' said he, (speaking generally), 'why I should take all this trouble and expense; leaving my country and my friends. See how great an outlay I am submitting to, so many lacs (a lac is a hundred

thousand rupees, or ten thousand pounds) expended here, and for the ship; so many more will go in England, and so many more on my return; and my pay of course goes to another (my brother) during my absence.'

"In reference to his companions, he added that he had reduced the rank or pay of all during his absence; that those who were colonels (his two brothers) he had made captains, and those who were captains, lieutenants, and so forth. I replied, that I hoped his visit to England would prove not only for his own pleasure, but for the good of his country.

"The sound of a bugle now announced the troops to be ready to salute him; so he stepped into the verandah overlooking the garden, on the broad path of which a long line of bright and terrible bayonets (shaped like the Kookree, or Nepaulese dagger knife—a very handsome carved weapon) glittered in the sun. After he had addressed a few words to the men, the line saluted twice, and were then (half of them with their faces towards him) ordered to march.

One or two companies, however, at the end nearest to him, appeared unwilling to move, and while they stood, men from the ranks addressed him. He stopped them, however, by reminding them that it was not customary to address their officers with arms in their hands, and again ordered them to move, which they did with evident regret; those about me declaring that some were 'rota-hy,' *i. e.* crying. He is certainly very much liked by them all.

"As they marched through the garden, the band played (and played well too) English martial tunes; but on getting outside of the gate they struck off into one of their own wild and peculiar mountain airs. He has been picking up a little English, and to my great gratification, told me what he had learned. I corrected the sentences for him, and he repeated the alterations till he was perfect; after which he asked me to teach him others, carefully inquiring and noting the difference in addressing equals, inferiors and superiors. Two of his

attendant officers speak English—one of them very well indeed."

In Paris the enthusiasm of the populace, as represented by the press, was not inferior to that of our own John Bull. Everything the General and his followers did was faithfully noted in the journals of the day. Annexed are a few extracts from the articles which appeared:

"The ambassador is accompanied by his two brothers, and has a suite of twenty persons. He is only twenty-six years of age, but he is already a distinguished general, and is considered one of the most intelligent men of his country. He appreciates the diplomatic attentions that he has received here, but expresses an earnest desire to see the President of the Republic before his departure, which is at present fixed for the 29th instant. In his own language he said, 'When will the sovereign President return?' and his interpreter replied that it would be possible for him to be presented to the President before his departure. He then

said, ' It is well, for my nation and myself have a great veneration for the name of the Emperor, whose courage and exploits we admire.'

" General Changarnier and his suite has paid him a visit, as also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and he was much flattered at this mark of attention by the government. The Turkish Ambassador had previously called upon him. It is difficult, however, to make the Ambassador comprehend that France is a republic, and cannot offer him the same splendid *fêtes* as Queen Victoria when he was in London. The Ambassador and his suite have expressed a wish to conform as much as possible in Europe to the religious usages of India, which require that the Princes should themselves immolate the animals destined for their food, but they have experienced great obstacles. It has been erroneously stated in the journals that the animals are slaughtered daily in the yard of the Hôtel Sinet. It is true that the Prefect of Police has given permission for this to be done but neither Paris nor the *banlieue* have furnished

the kind of animals fit for immolation according to the prescriptions of the Indian religion. The Ambassador asked for a fat male deer, of from one to three years old, but could not obtain it. Several females were brought but these would not do. As yet neither he nor his suite have killed any animal.

"Their mode of living is very singular. There must be as many rooms as there are persons, for each must eat alone. As yet their only animal food in Paris has been a little game. Their principal food is fish and vegetables. On the return of the President of the Republic, he will offer a grand *fête* to the Ambassador, if he can postpone his departure."

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"The Nepaulese Ambassador and his suite of twelve persons, accompanied by Captain Fanshaw, their interpreter, visited the galleries and museum of the Louvre on Monday. What appeared to please them most was the gallery containing Chinese designs and utensils. They asked many questions. Their gorgeous cos-

tumes, pearls and diamonds, produced a picturesque effect in the galleries. M. de Nieuwerkerke, the director of the Louvre; M. de Vielcastel, the secretary; and other officers, accompanied them. The artists who were at work in the galleries suspended their labours to take a glance at the visitors. On leaving, the ambassador and his suite heartily thanked the officials and artists for their flattering reception. In the Hôtel Sinet, they lodge in apartments entirely separated from the rest of the hotel. They communicate with no one, and keep their curtains constantly closed."

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"The Nepaulese Embassy have 'assisted' at a party given by Lord Normanby; and they had a somewhat narrow escape from the loss of some of their gorgeous and all-tantalizing jewellery. Of this incident the Paris correspondent of a daily cotemporary furnishes the following curious account, in connection with the discovery of a desperate and long organised band of robbers:—'The captain of the troop,'

says the writer, "who passed in society under the title of the Baron of Ardennes, is, it appears, a young man of good family, and has received an excellent education. He has been in the army, and has performed on the stage. He had for his mistress a beautiful young woman, who had been the wife of a captain in the merchant navy, but who quitted her husband and family to share the fortunes of the adventurous Baron. He and his mistress were only the other day present at the ballet of the *Violon du Diable*, in a box close to the one occupied by the Nepaulese Princes, and their idea was to deprive the distinguished strangers of the rich ornaments they wear in such profusion on their dress. That this was not done was merely owing to the accident of the director of the opera having offered his box to the Princes, which they accepted.'

"Since the above was in type, we learn from the Paris papers that the *Houri* 'Cerito' has achieved that which the bandit 'Baron' failed to accomplish! It appears that his Excellency,

the susceptible Goorkha, chanced to see this captivating disciple of Terpsichore in the ballet now performing in Paris, called *Le Violon du Diable*, and having been admitted behind the scenes, beheld the lovely *danseuse* recumbent on a couch, and 'panting' (so say the reporters) after her graceful salutations. This entrancing spectacle was too much for the philosophy of the youthful Jung, and accordingly as a trivial earnest of his ecstacy, he transferred from his own sable wrists to the snowy ones of the charmer, a magnificent bracelet of brilliants."

After a short stay in Paris the mission proceeded to Marseilles where they embarked for Alexandria, *en route* to India.

Upon his arrival at Nepaul, Jung Bahadoor became the victim of much obloquy. Jealous of the exalted position and influence he had acquired, some people about the court conspired to displace him from the command of the army; and in the attempt to accomplish this

end, they found a ready agent in one of the men who had accompanied him to England. This man trumped up a story that he had lost his caste by associating, eating and drinking with people of a low caste—*pariahs,* in fact—for such he regarded the English. Nothing could be more untrue.

Jung Bahadoor was a most rigid observer of the usages enjoined by his religion, never going anywhere unless arrangements could be made for his dining with his own suite, and in a retired and exclusive apartment. Denounced for his alleged violations of the practices of devout Brahmins, he took a signal vengeance on his calumniator. Assembling the troops on parade, he called the offender before him; and challenging him to an open accusation, the wretch fell on his knees, declared himself most unworthy, and entreated pardon. Jung Bahadoor turned upon him like a tiger, applied to him all the horrible epithets with which the Hindoo vocabulary abounds, and

then commanding some soldiers to throw him to the ground, caused the most shocking indignities to be offered to his person.

This crushed the conspiracy; and from that time to the present, he has continued uninterruptedly in the possession of his office of Commander-in-Chief.

Of the real objects of the mission of the Nepaulese General to England, nothing is positively known though much has been conjectured. There is no doubt that the avowed purpose, that of merely strengthening the bonds of friendship between England and Nepaul, was very different from the real one, for there never was yet a Nepaulese mission without an *arrière pensée*—never a glittering parade without a concealed object. That Jung Bahadoor suggested the mission, is, we believe, pretty well understood, and that the gracious reception he experienced (of which, of course, the most inflated accounts were dispatched to Khatmandoo) have increased his personal importance, is equally beyond question; but how it will be, or has been, politically

turned to account by the sovereign of Nepaul remains to be seen.

Nepaul certainly had got herself into bad odour with the government of India by her unfriendly intrigues with the governments of Lahore and Gwalior, during the period of our hostilities with those states—intrigues frustrated by Lord Ellenborough's vigilance and determination—and the Rajah might have supposed that a complimentary mission, laden with valuable presents would have smoothed the angry brow of Great Britain. Or it is possible that Jung Bahadoor contemplated using the embassy as a means of impressing her Chinese neighbour, upon whose territory she casts wistful eyes, with a belief in her influence at the court of England —and mayhap of France—and of holding that influence *in terrorem* over the heads of the celestials.

Peace has now subsisted between the Nepaulese and the British for about thirty-six years, and we see no chance of its being interrupted. The occupation of a mountainous

region with no more than forty inhabitants to the square mile, would be no temptation to its conquest; and its military occupation would be simply the planting of an expensive garrison in it, which would not merely add to our strength, but absolutely weaken it by dispersing our force. Neither do we think the independence of the Nepaulese in any danger from the Chinese, who would by occupying the country only bring themselves into juxta-position with a power that they now understand but too well, and who, they must be well aware, would not brook the habitual insolence with which they treat weak neighbours.

The Nepaulese, however, situated as they are between two nations, both far too formidable to be resisted, may feel their position awkward and embarrassing; and the late mission may have originated in a desire to ascertain the power, resources, and Indian policy of the most formidable of them. When Hyder Ali was urged by his captains to invade and conquer the possessions of the English in the Carnatic, he

used to say the power in sight was not much, and he had no fear of it, but that he dreaded the mysterious one out of sight, and of which he had no knowledge. The Nepaulese court, then, may be acting on the principle of desiring to ascertain the nature of the mysterious power that is out of sight in Hindustan, and which bewildered the ablest and most formidable of our Indian enemies.

But, as we have said above, all speculation upon the matter is vain and premature. Time alone can disclose the true purposes of the mission, and be they "wicked or charitable," England has the consolation of knowing that she is armed at all points, and has proved herself, in all her relations with Nepaul, an hospitable neighbour, an honest negociator, and a formidable enemy.

CHAPTER V.

SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY.

ALTHOUGH the military life, so far as Nepaul is concerned, of Sir D. Ochterlony, is narrated in the foregoing pages, it would be a species of treason to the Indian army—for which I must always cherish a lively affection—were I not, in this place, to offer a memoir of one who was generally regarded by the sepoys as their father and friend. A history of Nepaul, without a special biography of Ochterlony, would be like "Hamlet," without the Prince of Denmark. I shall endeavour, therefore, to sketch the biography of "Lony Ochter," as the sepoys by

an inexplicable transposition called him; omitting all such matters as have already been detailed.

David Ochterlony, the son of an emigrant merchant, was born at Boston, in North America. His father was a cadet of the family of Pitforthy, formerly styled of Ochterlony, which had possessed lands in the counties of Forfar and Aberdeen for upwards of two centuries.

The mother of the future General was an American lady of the name of Tyler. After the death of her first husband, which, occurring suddenly, caused derangement in his affairs, she married Sir Isaac Heard, the late Garter King-at-Arms. Young Ochterlony, left nearly destitute when about ten years of age, found an affectionate reception from his uncle, the Laird of Pitforthy, who put him to school in Scotland, where, along with the early part of his education, he imbibed the national feelings of a Scotsman, and continued to cherish them through life. This filial attachment to

home, however, I beg to observe, does not, as some Englishmen suppose, involve prejudice against other countries.

On attaining his seventeenth year, the subject of this sketch went to reside with his mother in London; and whilst prosecuting his classical and mathematical studies, took lessons, at the request of the Garter King, who wished to provide for him, in the Herald's Office. The pupil, though lastingly grateful for the kindness of his step-father, could never give his mind to the art and mystery of blazoning coats of arms. Meanwhile, Lachlan Maclean, distinguished in his day, it is said, for great abilities and lax morals, who a few years since obtained a place among the many putative authors of "Junius' Letters," opportunely offered his patronage in another line to the backward student of heraldry. Maclean, when a military surgeon in America, had contracted a debt to the elder Ochterlony, which remained unpaid; and having become Under Secretary of State, and First Commissioner for the affairs of the Nuwab of the

Carnatic, now showed himself willing to acknowledge an obligation which it was still inconvenient to discharge, by placing the son of his creditor in the service of the above Prince at Madras.

Mr. Ochterlony, readily accepting the offer, was taken for a short time into the Commissioner's Office, to learn the forms of Indian business. On being presented with a Bengal cadetship, merely to distinguish him from an interloper, he sailed for India towards the end of 1777. Mr. Maclean, who had himself proceeded to the same quarter eight or ten months before, in returning met his young friend at the Cape, and furnishing him with recommendatory letters to the Nuwab and the influential men about his person, was lost in a ship called the 'Swallow,' which foundered in the remaining part of her voyage to England. A Chief Justice, who happened to be his fellow-passenger, accommodated the cadet on landing in the East; but falling in with another young officer (afterwards the Honourable Sir

Thomas Maitland), they visited some place of public resort of that time, which was probably not so respectable as the modern clubs and hotels at the Indian presidencies, since it is certain that the destined conqueror of Nepaul there had his pocket picked of the letters which the commissioner had written to get him established, until he should make his fortune, in peaceful employment.

In hopes of repairing this unforeseen misfortune, he dressed in his Company's uniform, and waited on a Mr. Ockley, one of the Secretaries to Government, who had the chief local management of Carnatic affairs. The youthful soldier never forgot the haughty insolence with which this man in office treated his expectations, and the explanations offered of the loss of his credentials. The Nuwab, he was told, had no use for his services. This, the General was wont to call the first, but by no means the last, insult to a red-coat, which he had to witness in India. The Secretary, a day or two afterwards, seeing him in the good company of

the Chief Justice, and exhibiting considerable condescension to his late petitioner, met with a sharp and well-merited rebuff. Not yet aware of his patron's fate, Mr. Ochterlony took his departure, in full reliance of being soon recalled to Madras, by fresh letters from England, and proceeded to join the army in Bengal.

The troops under Fort William then consisted of two brigades. Detachments from each being ordered to join the army under Sir Eyre Coote and General Stewart on the coast, Lieutenant Ochterlony was appointed Adjutant and Quarter-Master to the first division of the force, commanded by Major Blane, in the end of 1780. He served in all the actions that followed with Hyder Ali and the French, during that protracted war. Succeeding, as senior officer present, to the command of a sepoy battalion, he occupied a position on the right of the trenches before Cuddalore in 1783, when the French made a sortie against the camp of the besiegers at night. They attacked in front; and at the same time turned

the right of the British, when "a supporting line," posted by General Stewart, began to fire forward and brought down a number of Ochterlony's men. Before he could get this serious error rectified, the sepoys, believing the enemy to be on all sides of them, became impatient, but were prevailed on by their officers to retreat in a body, which they did with such impetuosity as to break through the ranks of the French; whom they encountered in the dark, and threw them into confusion and alarm. Lieutenant Ochterlony, however, was cut down and left on the field until a party of the enemy, supposing him from his grenadier epaulettes to be an officer of rank, carried him hastily into the fort. He continued a prisoner there, treated with great civility, till the conclusion of a peace. He was wounded on another occasion near Arnee, under circumstances somewhat singular. The night before an engagement with Hyder's troops, he dreamed that his mother gave him much earnest advice, and desired especially that he should look to

his safety next morning. Laughing at a presentiment which he could not rid himself of, the young officer delivered over some valuables to a friend, and prepared to meet a soldier's doom.

Whilst leading his grenadiers to action, he was grazed by a rocket, which, carrying off the whole of his long-skirted coat from the shoulders downward, left a gash on his side; the mark of which went with him to the grave. The shock threw him to the ground; and his companions, feeling sure that the dreamer's foreboding was fulfilled, were agreeably surprised to find him alive amongst them after the affray. But although Ochterlony harboured no superstition, he always considered the coincidence remarkable between the dream and his mother's death, which he first heard of by the next subsequent arrival from England. The dates of the two events, however, did not exactly correspond.

Lieutenant Ochterlony's services on the coast were rewarded, on his return, with the appoint-

ment of deputy Judge-Advocate-General at Dinapore.

He seems to have passed the years of inaction which followed, in the ordinary pleasures and amusements of young men in the Indian army. He retained ever afterwards a relish for nautches, and the performances of the singing men of India; which could be accounted for, in one of his general taste, only on the supposition that they awakened associations of the spring-time of life.

He never could reflect, he used to say, on his prominent part "in the Bengal mutiny," without incongruous feelings of horror and ridicule; Horror at the treachery of some of his professedly most zealous confederates and ridicule, at the pusillanimous dread which several honest supporters of the cause occasionally betrayed of losing the poor advantages of their degraded condition.

It is now happily almost forgotten that Company's military servants of every grade were, before that commotion, as much sub-

ordinate to those of the royal army, as subadars and jemadars are at present to European officers. Respectful remonstrances met with neglect or reproof.

In answer to a renewed appeal on the subject, more than usually urgent, the Court of Directors not only refused to intercede for redress to the petitioners, but took occasion to enjoin their field-officers to set a soldier-like example to their juniors of submitting cheerfully to be commanded by His Majesty's subalterns. This led to the formation of committees at the principal stations, who, corresponding with one another and the local government, finally elected delegates to represent them in England. Ochterlony held the place of secretary to the Chunar Committee. Cautioned in vain by his considerate friends at the presidency, who, though they wished success to the mutiny, were too prudent to join in it, he soon received appalling proofs from them of the danger he was incurring. At one of the meetings, he read extracts from a document

thence obtained, which had been circulated to members of council, giving a circumstantial account of whatever had been done or said by the mutineers about a month before, in the room where they had again assembled. Every one stared at his neighbour in dismay or dissimulation. The secretary moved a resolution that there must be a traitor and scoundrel on the committee, which was unanimously carried. But, independently of such occurrences in the business itself, Ochterlony by no means liked to talk of a proceeding so repugnant to habits of military discipline. Perhaps his reply to a joke, in earnest, of Lord Lake's on the subject, will best explain his settled opinion of it.

"How could you lend yourself to such a rascally affair as the 'Bengal Mutiny?'" asked his Lordship.

"Why," said the quondam secretary, "I knew we could not be worse; and as begging would not do, I thought we might gain some-

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sortie of the garrison next night. After he had thus taken and retained a commanding position, the enemy evacuated Sasnee, and retired, without waiting for his ulterior operations. On the subsequent capture of Bidgigurh, Major Ochterlony was appointed to the command of that fortress. Holding this situation when the Mahratta war broke out, he received a letter from Lord Lake, in his own hand-writing, inviting him to accept the office of deputy Adjutant-General, with the certain prospect of succeeding to the head of the department on the cessation of hostilities, when Gerard was resolved to retire.

Ochterlony served in this capacity at Allygurh and Delhi, which last battle, destroying the power of Scindia, at that time dominant in Upper India, and bringing the person of the nominal great Mogul under British protection, created the necessity of placing an able and energetic officer, to represent his country, in the ancient capital of the fallen monarch's family.

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The senior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, had command of the troops. The garrison for the defence of fortifications, seven miles in extent, comprising the whole circumference of the city, consisted of only two battalions of sepoys, a company of native artillery, and a corps of buckundazes, who had belonged to Scindia, and been lately entertained for local duties under the civil authority.

These irregulars openly mutinied, and one of the first acts of the Resident, during the siege, was to blow two of their ringleaders from a gun, by which the rest were brought to obedience.

His tact and vigilance were principally demanded from the commencement, in partly gaining the good-will, and partly restraining the enmity of one hundred thousand citizens; which he accomplished so successfully, that a considerable portion of them offered money or jewels, and others supplied food spontaneously,

when treasure and provisions became scarce among the defenders. He accepted daily rations of sweetmeats from the confectioners, which, being gratuitously distributed, had, it was believed, the effect of contributing to reconcile the sepoys to unusual hardships.

The nobility and the neighbouring jageerdars, however, were not generally well affected to the British rule. The Resident managing to intercept their correspondence with Holkar, learned whom to distrust, though he took care not to drive them to the enemy's camp, by a premature disclosure of his having discovered their guilt. The noted Begum Sumroo, whom Lord Lake kissed after the battle of Delhi, in presence of a dinner-party, and reinstated in the lands allotted originally to the payment of her husband's brigade at Sirdanah, was among the delinquents detected in political coquetry with the besiegers. More than one of these offenders turning their backs on what they deemed a clouded and setting sun, lived to manifest base ingratitude to the man

through whose means their treachery on that occasion was overlooked or pardoned.

Having won over, or neutralized the inhabitants, he enabled the garrison to conduct operations against the besieging hordes outside with steadiness, and even enterprise. A party, sallying out on one occasion, captured a Mahratta battery and spiked the guns. Two assaults, after breaches had been formed, the last under cover of tremendous cannonade, were completely repulsed by the fire of our sepoys from the ramparts. Holkar, disappointed of co-operation from within, and defeated in these attempts to enter the city by force, withdrew during the night, and entirely relinquished the siege. The Governor-General in Council, and the Court of Directors, both conveyed their thanks to the Resident in strong terms, for his share in the defence of Delhi.

In the face of this display, and recognition of superior ability for political employment, Sir George Barlow had scarcely succeeded to the

office of Governor-General, when he superseded Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony in the Residency, as a mere soldier, who could not be expected to understand certain civil duties which were to be attached to the situation. Thus rudely cast out of a department to which he had shown himself among the best qualified to belong, and appointed Commandant of the garrison of Allahabad; he held that sinecure from 1806 to 1809. He was then, without application or intercession, nominated by Lord Minto to command the force for the occupation of the Sikh states, which Mr. (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe's treaty at that time brought under British protection.

The Lieutenant-Colonel, on the completion of the arrangements, became agent to the Governor-General, in charge of our political relations, as well as military commander at Loodianah, on the north-west frontier. He held these appointments until the Earl of Moira proclaimed war against Nepaul in 1814.

The events connected with the campaign, consequent upon the proclamations, are detailed in the foregoing pages. The reader is aware that the final victory of Maloun speedily led to most important results. It compelled the fallen conqueror to surrender the mountain empire, which he had added to his country between Gogra and Sutlej, extending in its greatest breadth, from the plains of Plassia to the frontier of Tartary. He ceded all, on the single condition of his being escorted with his family and property to Nepaul.

Of the provinces thus relinquished by the Kadgi, Sirmoor, under the immediate government of his son Ranjore, had hitherto successfully resisted the British arms; and Kumaon in some places still held out, without having formally submitted, though Sir Jasper Nicolls had defeated Hasti Dat's army, and all who opposed him in the field.

The same battle, which made the most formidable army of Nepaul for ever powerless, broke, it is believed, a treacherous league

among the Hindu nations, which, provided that, in the event of the Nepaulese prevailing in Hindu, as elsewhere, the Mahrattas were to invade the most exposed of our central territories, whilst Runjeet Sing with his Sikhs, who would have had nothing but a single regiment of cavalry to encounter between Lahore and Delhi, was to resume possession of the country, which Mr. (Lord) Metcalfe and Colonel Ochterlony had forced him to abandon in 1809. The ascendancy of these eminent individuals over that Prince, to whom both were well known, no doubt contributed mainly to make one equally sagacious and unprincipled forego an inviting opportunity of attempting to seize the person of the Great Mogul, where the civil functionary then held office, and with more disastrous effect, at the same time to cut off the General's communication with the plains, before success had crowned the efforts of the army at Maloun.

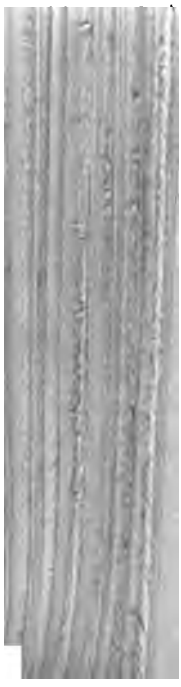
Ochterlony had already received the Commandery of the Bath for former services,

when the Order was enlarged; and on intelligence of this campaign reaching England, he was created a Baronet, and the Court of Directors conferred a pension on him of £1000 a-year for life.*

The officers under him who commanded the brigade, reserve, and different columns of attack, were made Companions of the Bath.

The exultation of the victors at Maloun

* At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 6th of December, 1815, a Report from the Committee of Correspondence, dated this day, being read, it was resolved unanimously, in consideration of the eminent and most beneficial services rendered to the Company by Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., and K.C.B., in the war in the State of Nepaul (by which the honour of the British arms was upheld, and the enemy, after the capture of extensive provinces, important to them, were obliged to sue for peace, on terms favourable to the Company), a pension of £1000 per annum be granted to him, to commence from the date of the victory over the Nepaulese army, the 16th of April, 1815. The said grant being subject to the approbation of the Court of Directors.



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cial superiors. Through his intelligence and activity, the General was virtually present at every post of his scattered army, in the person of one who could give effect to the spirit of a commander's orders, under all varying circumstances.

The value of such a messenger and counsellor, can be appreciated by those only who know the defects of the India military system, which in many things is excellent. Where length of service alone raises to command, some in situations of importance must be naturally beneath mediocrity; while still more are incapable from age; and though the chief of an army may be chosen, the public interest rarely admits of his principal subordinates being selected also.

To record its sense of Lieutenant Lawtie's services, the army went into mourning, and subsequently erected a monument to his memory in the Cathedral of Calcutta, where it is now to be seen. His ashes rest under a mountain

cairn, near Ruttungurh, like those of ancient warriors in the country of his ancestors.

The next prominent employment to which the government called Sir David Ochterlony, was in command of the Dinapore division of the army, destined to complete the subjection of the Goorkhas by moving against their capital.

Amongst other disadvantages to begin with, the Commander had little personal knowledge of most of his new staff.

The Quarter-Master-General, and head of the Intelligence Department, on whom so much depended in this peculiar warfare, was fortunately a man of great capacity and no less zeal; but, unhappily for himself, he had an overbearing sense of his superiority, which repelled and irritated the majority of those who ought to have acted cordially with him in the transaction of business.

I allude to the late Captain Joshua Pickersgill, who, after his death, obtained some literary notice as the juvenile author of a novel, called

"The Three Brothers," which Byron has palpably borrowed from in one of his dramas. Pickersgill's mind, in mature years, amply fulfilling its early promise of uncommon vigour, retained few traces of the refining influence of literature. He had less of the attic Greek than of the modern Turk in his deportment; and, like the Sultan, his choice would have been to reign alone.

With the assistance of this able, however unamiable, officer, Sir David Ochterlony soon settled his preliminary movements. Brigadier Kelly, with the first brigade, moved on Bugwanpore; Brigadier Nichol, with the second brigade, on Ramnugurh; whilst the third and fourth brigades, including His Majesty's 87th regiment, remaining with the General, marched from Semulabassa on the 10th of February. At this place he entered the great *sàl* forest, which the Nepaulese used to consider an impenetrable boundary, which the Deeras had raised to protect their country from lowland invasion. It is a dreary and unwholesome wilderness,

eleven miles in breadth, uninhabitable by any creature above an insect in the scale of being. The troops shouted for joy, when, emerging from the monotonous aspect and noxious shade of the tall trees, they breathed fresh air in the bed of the Bichacore river. A brick house, used as a traveller's *serai*, was immediately stockaded, and made one of the depôts between the head-quarters and Betrah, in the Terrai, where supplies were collected for the whole army.

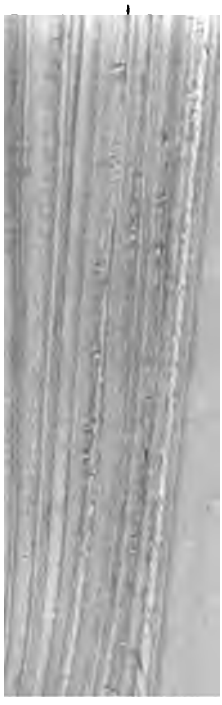
Thus far, no difficulties had occurred. The work of Colonel Kirkpatrick gave a correct account of the frequented roads into Nepaul, over the Churraghati, or first range of hills; but these were now too strongly fortified and defended to be carried without a sacrifice of human life, which Ochterlony would have shuddered at, and reckoned evidence of deficiency in military science.

He accordingly sent forth his Quarter-Master-General, as he had often done his field-engineer, in the campaign of Hindur, to discover a way,

where none was known to exist, by which the Goorkha posts might be turned, and an undefended passage found to the interior.

Pickersgill, stimulated by the magnitude of the object and the spirit of the enterprise in view, explored a succession of water-courses in the direction it was desired to proceed; and finding, after further research, hollow ravines, or the dry beds of former torrents that connected them, he ascertained the practicability of taking the force full two-thirds of the contemplated march; but was brought-to by precipices and thickets, in seeking a path over the last and most material of the ascending portion of the space to be traversed. Where his own eyes failed, however, his emissary's succeeded; and they got acquainted accidentally with a band of smugglers, who, for a handsome reward, showed the course taken by them across the Churraghati, to evade the payment of tolls; a route, it was averred, unknown to any servant of the Nepaul state.

On the announcement of this discovery,



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thread. The moon rose at an early hour in an unclouded sky, when the scenery on either hand appeared extremely ragged and desolate. The most remarkable part of this night-march, from about twelve to two o'clock, was through what seemed a rocky chasm between two mountains. In some places, trees from the opposite sides met over the column; in others, the clear moonlight gleamed on cliffs at a great height above, from whence the descent of a few fragments, not to think of the arms which patriotic rage might minister to a roused population, would have crushed every living thing below. Three thousand men moved along this defile with the silence of a funeral procession. There was something impressive in the only sound that disturbed the general stillness. Some decayed trees having fallen across the narrow passage had to be removed, and the stroke of the axe was repeated in wild echoes before and behind the invading ranks.

By daybreak, the brigade slowly and laboriously ascending reached a dry channel,

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subsequently became unusually vicious, were, during this war, the admiration of all; and on the occasion under notice, uttering no complaints, they climbed the trees spontaneously and cutting off suitable branches, hutted their whole regiment, besides voluntary making a comfortable *bower*, as it was called, for the General and his staff.

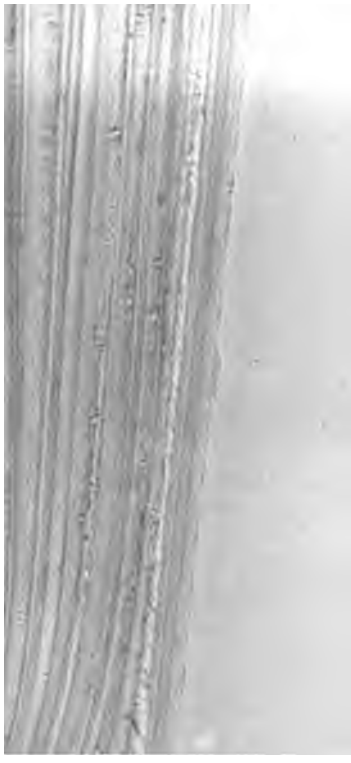
Meanwhile, the Honourable Company's Europeans, not so actively employed with their hands, gave vent to very audible execrations at having nothing to eat after fasting and marching for eighteen hours. Two companies of sepoys ordered on duty, threw themselves on the ground, declaring that they could not rise without food. These lamentations arose out of the inability of the commissariat to bring the cattle carrying supplies over the heights; and, with extraordinary unanimity, all the sufferers, high and low, imputed their privations to the Quarter-Master-General. Sir David Ochterlony seemed at first to scout the assumption that soldiers, as he said, should

never go where Bengara bullocks could not follow. But after taking measures to expedite the arrival of provisions, he appeared, in the only instance within my knowledge, to yield to the mere pressure from without; and I am sorry to add, reproved Pickersgill with undue severity for exposing the troops to starvation, by neglecting to give timely intimation that the usual means of transport would not suffice to keep the men supplied with the necessaries of life. The individual thus censured, had strength to weather storms. After listening with perfect composure and decorum, he began to reply with some striking compliments to himself, and acknowledged the trivial omission respecting the commissariat carriage, but pleaded the excusableness, if not the necessity, of merging inferior considerations in the importance of guiding the force through unparalleled hazards and difficulties, to the position in which, at the moment he spoke, it commanded the destiny of a kingdom. He concluded by stating, temperately and firmly,

that if his merits seemed not to outweigh his faults, he was ready to resign his duties to any officer capable of affording the Commander more satisfaction. The General rejoined without in the least altering his tone: "What you call a trivial omission, and I think a serious neglect, is the only part of your conduct that I blame. That which you *have done*, deserves and has my highest approbation. As to your resignation, you serve the same government that I do, and, in my opinion, its interests still require your services and talents on my staff."

This qualified approval, in which just commendation certainly predominated, appeased Pickersgill, and restored harmony.

The suffering and dread of hunger soon vanished. The people, drivers, and coolies belonging to the commissariat, when put in requisition, were found capable of carrying enough of provisions to the bivouac to last till the pioneers had made footing for their cattle up the acclivity.



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the pride of the Goorkhas offer appropriate reparation, for the disrespect which they had shown to the sign-manual of our highest functionary, and a royal salute from his principal fortress, of which he knew that the friends and courtiers throughout Hindostan had been making a jest. Sir David, therefore, got up a sort of political melo-drama for the occasion. Summoning the host of vakeels or agents, and news-writers, who attended him on the part of the Sikh and hill-chiefs, including the sovereign of the Punjaub, he desired them to be seated, as usual, on the floor of his tent; and taking a chair, whilst, according to his custom, smoking a hookah himself, he directed the ambassador to be admitted. His Excellency, who had negociated with our agent at Terrai, looked rather disconcerted on finding that, instead of being welcomed with an embrace, he had to figure as the only person standing. Nevertheless, he managed to swagger a little, announcing himself as the bearer of

tidings of peace from the puissant Rajah of Nepaul.

"Peace!" said the General: "has your master the effrontery to offer me peace, when he has nothing to give except what I choose to leave him?"

The negociator then attempted to deliver presents and flattering messages innumerable, but was checked and asked for his credentials. Letters from the Rajah and his minister were then read aloud. The tone of these was sufficiently subdued, but the usual verbose ambiguity pervaded them also; though both explicitly empowered the bearer to accept of whatever conditions might be conceded or dictated by the offended government.

"There is not a word in either of them," observed the General, "in atonement for the insult which your employers offered to the Governor-General, by refusing to confirm the treaty of November, after soliciting his Lordship to sign it first, and proclaim the event

to the chiefs of India, which he did with public formalities."

"It was a great fault," replied the envoy: "they implore forgiveness, and have ratified the treaty: here it is, bearing the lal mohur, or seal of state. What more can they do to deserve pardon?"

"Your master deserves to have Khatmandoo burnt to the ground for such an act of insolence; but fall down, and ask mercy in his name, as the Goorkha ambassador asks favours of the Emperor of China, and I will try to spare him."

Down went the representative of Nepaulese Majesty in abject prostration, repeating his sovereign's profession of penitence. The farce was now over; and Sir David, giving his visitor a chair, treated him like a gentleman, until everything was settled, during the rest of their intercourse.

The army departed from Muckwanpore and its other positions in the hills, on the 4th of

March, just in time to escape the annual sickness in returning home.

The treaty, repeatedly referred to in former pages, had, by the recent occurrences, acquired a character which did not belong to it previously. One of the equivocations which the Goorkhas had contrived to introduce, with the hope, if compelled to accept it, of finding opportunities to turn the wording to their account, told fearfully against them in the new posture of affairs. It was stipulated that the contracting parties should retain, in perpetuity, the territories their respective troops might occupy at the ratification of the above document.

In November, 1815, this stipulation would have enabled the enemy, by stealing a march here and there into adjoining districts, to claim nearly all the lowland tracts originally under their dominion; but in March, 1816, when Ochterlony, having passed beyond the first range of hills, "occupied" the line of the Rapte; the same clause, sadly paltering in a

double sense, extended the British frontier to that river, and would have deprived Nepaul of almost half her revenue.

The military and political importance of the fine upland valley of that country had not in those days, if it has yet, attracted the notice of Oriental statesmen. Situated in a comparatively temperate and healthy climate, where English soldiers could have an easy life as at home; it is fitted to become the residence of a military colony, or of any number of European soldiers, ready, whenever required, to descend to the plains from a natural fastness which art is capable of rendering unassailable, for the protection of the eastern provinces of British India. If Cashmere, as Nepaul was, should ever be at the disposal of a Governor-General, it is ardently hoped, that instead of resigning it to the dominions of worthless barbarians, he may perceive its inestimable value for securing the tranquillity and progressive civilization of our westerly possessions against all future hazard of invasion or insurrection.

Ruling on the ocean, fortified in the mountains, and navigating the rivers that connect them, the British power in the East might for ever defy foreign aggression, and all but the suicidal vices of bad government, at home.

Lord Hastings, who loved to practise magnificent generosity, satisfied with dismembering Nepaul of her conquests west of the Gogra; and a portion bestowed on the King of Oude, made the Rajah a free gift of all that the last campaign had cancelled his right to.

Does not this "lenient policy," so frequently imitated, partake of the delusion of the poor Hindu, who, if he wounds a troublesome serpent, offers it milk, in the superstitious hope of averting the reptile's sting from his family, or turning its venom into balm?

When the remaining power of the Goorkhas, with aggravated inclination to molest and injure, has to be crushed, and the day is coming, I leave it to the calculation of chances to determine what probability exists, that another

Ochterlony to direct the army, and another Pickersgill to guide it through a balucola unknown till wanted, will concur to achieve the second overthrow of that insolent and vindictive people.

The services of Sir David Ochterlony against Nepaul obtained him the thanks of Parliament, and the first Grand Cross of the Bath bestowed on a Company's officer. The Prince Regent likewise granted him an honourable augmentation to his armorial bearings, containing two banners inscribed, NEPAUL and DELHI, with the motto, *Prudentia et animo;* suggested by Canning, whose eloquent praise in moving the vote of the Commons, was esteemed by the subject of it not the smallest of his distinctions.*

* "Whitehall, January 14th, 1817.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name, and on the behalf of His Majesty, taking into consideration the highly distinguished services rendered by Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., a Major-General in the army in the East Indies, and Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, on divers im-

These public acknowledgments were the more gratifying that he had neither private friend

portant occasions during a period of thirty-nine years, particularly in the course of those arduous operations of the Mahratta war, which conduced to the decisive victory gained by the British forces under the command of the late General Viscount Lake, in the memorable conflict before Delhi, on the 11th of September, 1803; to the consequent surrender of that capital, and to the restoration of His Majesty Shah Alum to the throne of his ancestors; as also the proofs of wisdom and military talent afforded by this officer during the subsequent defence of the said city against the whole force of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; his prudent arrangement and disposition of the comparatively few troops under his orders; his judicious conduct at so difficult a crisis, in the discharge of the high and important functions of British Resident at the court of Delhi, combined with his great energy and animated personal exertions, to which were chiefly attributed the safety of that capital, and of the person of Shah Alum, at a time when the loss of either might have proved highly prejudicial to the public interests in Hindostan; and further the unremitting zeal, foresight, and decision, manifested by the said Major-General, under circumstances of great difficulty, during the late contest with the State of

nor influence to move the fountain of honour in his favour.

Nepaul, especially in that series of combined movements, during the nights of the 14th and 15th of April, 1815, against the fortified positions of the Goorkha army on the heights of Maloun, which led to the establishment of the British troops on that range of mountains, theretofore deemed to be impregnable; to the evacuation by the enemy of the fortresses of Maloun and Jytuck; to the defeat and surrender of Umur Sing Thappa, the chief commander of the hostile force; and to the successful and glorious termination of that campaign; and, lastly, the judgment, perseverance, and vigour, displayed by the said Major-General, as Commander of the British forces, upon the renewal of the contest with the aforesaid state, the happy and triumphant results of which have been consolidated by a treaty of peace between the East India Company and the Rajah of Nepaul, highly beneficial to the interests of the British empire in India; His Royal Highness, desirous, in addition to other marks of his royal approbation, of commemorating the faithful and important services of the said Major-General, by granting unto him certain armorial augmentations, has been pleased to give and grant His Majesty's royal licence and permission, that he, the

The General returned on finishing the last Nepaulese campaign, to the duties of the

said Sir David Ochterlony, and his descendants, may bear to the armorial ensigns of Ochterlony the honourable augmentations, following, viz.: On an embattled chief two banners in saltice, the one of the Mahratta States, inscribed 'Delhi,' the other of the State of Nepaul, inscribed 'Nepaul,' the staves broken and encircled by a wreath of laurel, with this motto to the arms, viz: 'Prudentia et animo,' and the crest of honourable augmentation following, viz.: Out of an eastern crown, inscribed 'Nepaul,' an arm issuant, the hand grasping a baton of command, entwined by an olive branch; provided the said armorial ensigns be first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, otherwise the said royal licence to be void, and of no effect."

"Jovis, 6 die Februarii, 1817.—Resolved, that the thanks of this house be given to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, for the skill, valour, and perseverance displayed by him in the late war with Nepaul, to which the result of that contest is mainly to be ascribed; and also to the several officers of the army, both European and Native, for the bravery and discipline displayed by them in that arduous contest."

political agency, and the command of the troops on the north-west frontier. He was almost immediately afterwards nominated to command the reserve of the grand army for the extirpation of the Pindarees. This service afforded him no scope for manifesting any of his characteristic qualities. The treaties with the Rajpoot states having been framed and signed at Delhi, he received their submission along with that of the noted Amer Khan, and was appointed Resident in Rajpootana, as well as Commander of the new western division of the army, comprising Nuseerabad, Neemuch, and Mhow.

Knowing the associations which attached him to Delhi, and perhaps desirous of atoning for the injustice of one of his predecessors, the Marquis of Hastings offered the General the residency of that ancient capital, when it became vacant in 1818; and the offer was gratefully accepted for the anticipated reasons. The same Governor-General, however, persuaded Sir David three years afterwards to assume the

administration and command of the force in Central India, as President in Malwa and Rajpootana. This office of high trust was the last conferred upon the subject of my narrative. The Marquis of Hastings retired, and Lord Amherst became the nominal head of the Supreme government; events speedily followed by the war with Ava, which exhausted and forestalled the resources of that rich empire, without sustaining the native opinion of British prowess. A train of adverse occurrences of little moment singly, was artfully magnified into a series of defeats ending in entire discomfiture. The chiefs and people throughout Upper India, while these reports sounded in their ears, saw troops, treasure, and military stores moving or descending the rivers in fleets of boats from remote places towards the Presidency and the sea, instead of coming from thence. The consequence was a general and unfortunately a cherished belief, that the foreign conquerors of Hindostan were now vanquished by the Burmese, and

about to flee from the country with all that they could carry off.

In this state of the public mind, Bulder Sing, late Rajah of Bhurtpore, more confident of our stability than most of his neighbours, in expectation of his own death, requested the President in Malwa and Rajpootana to obtain the recognition of his heir on the part of the British government, by investing him according to custom with a dress of honour. That Prince having no male issue, had followed the course prescribed by Hindoo law and the practice of his predecessors, in adopting a relative to succeed him; adoption being considered in this instance as valid, as both the parties most interested constantly called the boy named Bulwant Sing, the Rajah's son, and had hitherto allowed his title to inherit the principality to remain unquestioned.

The Resident accordingly forwarded Bulder Sing's request to the Governor-General, with his opinion in favour of granting it agreeably to established usage, in settling the succession

of our protected allies to their sovereignties. This communication was made in the month of August, 1824. No answer arrived till October. The secretary in the political department then signified, that government entirely approved of the proposed investiture, provided the person to be recognised had a just title, which the Resident was enjoined to ascertain before he "committed the paramount state to support" him; and further informed, in conclusion, that if the boy Bulwant Sing were the reigning Rajah's son, no doubt could remain of the course to be pursued.

Sir David Ochterlony, having already reported the relationship in which the Rajah and his heir legally stood, believed the conditions fulfilled on which he was authorised to act, and consequently intimated his intention early in November to invest Bulwant Sing "under the orders received," adding as a reason for doing so, the dying Prince's fears, lest a pretender should disturb the minority of his successor if the formality of his reception

under British supremacy were omitted. This distinct notification of the step about to be taken, and the nature of the evils which it was expected to prevent, averted neither prohibition nor remark during three months which followed. The ceremony of investiture took place on the 6th of February, 1825.

In the beginning of March, Bulder Sing died; and Bulwant Sing, only seven years of age, was duly proclaimed. Doorgun Sal, nephew to the late, and cousin to the present Rajah, murdered the Regent, usurped the government, and assuming the style of sovereignty, bade defiance to the protecting power, which he thought no longer in a state to oppose his pretensions. Sir David Ochterlony immediately issued a proclamation denouncing Doorgun Sal as a rebel and traitor; but whilst apprizing the Governor-General in Council of the usurpation, he deemed it perilous, in the disaffected state of the country, to wait for instructions, or to permit the least delay to occur in manifesting his ability to resent an

insulting act of defiance to the paramoun
government. Under this necessity, he too
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of the upper provinces with the greates
expedition practicable, and joined it at Muttra
in the month of April.

The usurper, seeing his miscalculation o
our resources, with fortifications in disrepai
and a small garrison, part of which was read
to betray him, renounced the sovereign titl
(*Guddee Nusheen*), and entreated the Reside
to let him be Regent during the minority o
the young Rajah. A negociation had com
menced for a small pension to Doorgun Sa
from the Bhurtpore state, on condition tha
he should bring the Prince whom he ha
dethroned to the General's tent in safety, an
throw open the gates of his fort to the arm
which came to restore him. But this favou
able posture of affairs was suddenly reverse
by a despatch from Calcutta, dated April 2nd.

The letter referred to, was from the Politic
Secretary, who, in apparent forgetfulness

everything that had passed on the subject between August and February, now condemned the investiture as an improper and unsanctioned measure; denied the young Rajah's right to protection, even if duly invested; reprehended the Resident's proclamation and proceedings against Doorgun Sal, directing the former to be recalled, the latter to cease; and, finally, ordered the army, which the General had unwisely and unjustly assembled, to be broken up, and the corps composing it remanded to their several stations. The same functionary, on reflection, before any answer had time to reach him, changed his ground of disapprobation on most of these points; but continued, in the name of government, steadfast in censure and disavowal of the Resident's conduct.

My limits afford space for only a brief and imperfect abstract of the arguments on both sides of this discussion of an interesting question in Indian politics. After tacitly relinquishing mistakes in matters of fact, it was held, on the part of the Governor-General in Council,

that the investiture of a native Prince, duly applied for and acceded to, authorized the paramount state to interfere with his external relations, for the general welfare of India, but gave him no right to its protection against domestic enemies; and when one is dethroned by a subject whom the chiefs and people do not oppose, it becomes a question of mere expediency whether the British government shall acknowledge the usurper or the lawful sovereign.

Applying these principles to the case of Bhurtpore, it appeared that Sir David Ochterlony, unmindful of the interests of the state which he served, whilst it remained engaged in an arduous struggle with the Burmese on one hand, had provoked a new war on the other, by an ill-timed and inexpedient declaration in favour of the weaker of two competitors; which naturally incensed a powerful ruler *de facto*, whose hostility threatened calamity to the north-west provinces.

Sir David Ochterlony, in opposition to these

doctrines, maintained that the greater and the smaller state owed reciprocal duties to one another. The very word "paramount," applied by the Secretary to the superior, promised the benefits of a vassal to the inferior; and the acknowledgment of British supremacy by the lesser principalities in India, bore a strong analogy to the ancient surrender of allodial possessions in Europe; sacrifices which were made in both instances to obtain the protection of a powerful ally. The Governor-General in Council, he argued, by accepting the submission of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, incurred an indubitable obligation to uphold him, whenever his sovereignty should be threatened or suspended.

The second article of the treaty, then subsisting with that Prince, declared that the enemies of the one contracting party were to be the enemies of the other, without allusion to any distinction between subjects and foreigners. Whether the sovereigns were fancifully supposed to comprise the three estates in his own

person, or the fact were admitted that the nobility and people have no political existence in any form of Indian monarchy, our engagements are invariably entered into with the Prince for himself and his dynasty alone. Nothing less than such criminality as might render a compact void between individuals, could justify the supreme in abandoning the subordinate power, when assailed by lawless violence. The dethroned Rajah of Bhurtpore was an innocent minor, whom the British government had just invested with his dignity, after receiving a distinct warning that his succession was likely to be disputed.

As to the war in Ava, the General contended, it alone, in its unpropitious influence on the mind of the natives, had emboldened Doorgun Sal to rebel, under the common impression that no available force remained in the upper provinces to put him down, and chastise what he knew to be a flagrant insult to the supremacy of the British government. This chief (further trusting to the renown of

his fort, which, having resisted Lord Lake, had long been the rallying point and rallying cry of disaffection to our sway) calculated on the aid of hundreds of thousands, who were eager, as soon as they dared, to join his standard; in hopes of reviving former days of tumult and anarchy, when every bold, bad man might make sure of living by plunder, and even dream of seizing a throne. The very difficulties and reverses of the Burmese war, therefore, were the identical circumstances which made Doorgun Sal believe that he could depose a sovereign under British protection with impunity, required the paramount authority, instead of courting peace with a rebellious criminal, to wield the sword of justice, and confuting the popular notion of our weakness, crush revolt at its birth, before its expanding energies convulsed the most warlike part of India. This reasoning, employed in a detailed and lucid exposition of the transaction in all its bearings, did not satisfy, but seemed to irritate the goverment to deeper indignation.

The dread professed of the insignificant state of Bhurtpore, whose only strength was in the name of its fort, and whose whole army would scarcely have ventured outside its walls to encounter two regiments of sepoys, is a singular feature in the hasty assumptions of government, which transferred anew in a letter, dated the 15th, directing the same troops, of which the dispersion had been ordered on the 2nd of April, to be kept embodied to protect our provinces against the invasion of Doorgun Sal.

Such vacillation and imperfect knowledge in the counsels of the executive seemed, in Sir David Ochterlony's opinion, to justify inattention to a part of his instructions which he deemed derogatory to the honour of his country. This proclamation, therefore, was not revoked; nor did he explain, in other words apologise, for his conduct to the usurper; but, keeping the despatch secret for a few days, he endeavoured to obtain the conditional submission which that personage had previously offered. Doorgun Sal, however, having emissaries at

Calcutta, had received intelligence of the measures against him being reprehended, almost as soon as the Resident, and now considered himself a recognised prince. On discovering this, the General told the actual ruler of Bhurtpore the whole truth, without disguise or equivocation, dispersed the force, and transmitted to government his resignation of all his public employments.

The promptitude with which he had assembled nearly ten thousand men, before Doorgun Sal was prepared to resist such force for an instant, produced, notwithstanding the arrest of his measures, the happy effect of overawing the malcontents, by what appeared the sudden revival of power, which they hoped and believed to be extinct.

The wisdom of Ochterlony's policy towards Bhurtpore, if it ever needed vindication in the eyes of Indian statesmen and soldiers, was soon more than vindicated, by being adopted on the part of the same functionaries who had reprobated his designs, when they appeared to him

specially applicable, and the execution of them most demanded. "Time lost," says the proverbial truism, "can never be regained."

In the beginning of 1825, he who had made so many strongholds of nature and art submit to him, while defended by a people certainly not less brave, enjoyed the fairest prospect of taking Bhurtpore, without subjecting a protected state to more of the evils of war than he had inflicted on the possessions of foreign enemies.

In the beginning of 1826, after the usurpation had been allowed to consolidate, it was found necessary to invest the devoted town with thirty thousand troops, and to make it pay a dreadful penalty for Doorgun Sal's criminal ambition, which the counsels of the paramount power sanctioned at first, and now consented to punish with the blood of the unhappy people whom it had induced to acquiesce in their ruler's crimes.

The garrison, unenterprising, and almost passive before resistance, became useless, and did

little to maintain the renown of their fort. The principal column of assault, under General Reynell, soon overpowering any show of opposition, and opening the way, as it entered the breach, for any numbers to follow, virtually took Bhurtpore. The supplementary and later operations of the storm, conducted with approved gallantry and severe loss, however requisite to the glory of the day, were apparently not required to insure the capture of the place; but with regard to the inhabitants, they had forfeited their lives according to the laws of war; and the Commander-in-Chief, doubtless thinking a terrible example to the insurgents against British supremacy was demanded in this instance, permitted the European soldiery to fall on the promiscuous crowds inside, with that ferocity which they generally evince towards persons differing from themselves in colour; and they put to death five thousand human beings, of whom, besides armed men, a great proportion were women, children, and peaceful labourers. Sixty-six lacs of rupees,

found in the repositories of our ally and his subjects, became, agreeably to the same ordinances, the booty of the protecting army.

Sir David Ochterlony, however, was not destined to see this recognition of the soundness of his views, or the calamities which resulted from delaying to realise them. He left Muttra, followed by the post which brought him more letters from the Presidency, couched in harsh and ungracious terms. The counsellors of the Governor-General, apparently thinking their defence of Doorgun Sal, and reprehension of his opponent complete, had begun to review the proceedings of the Resident in Malwa and Rajpootana of older date, and continued to discover much in them which called forth their disapprobation, until his last despatch informed those gentlemen of the termination of his official career.

Accepting his resignation eagerly, they offered him a sinecure on the terms on which he had, a twelvemonth previously, proposed to retire from active life, and act as the agent

of government with the King of Delhi. This idea of retirement arose at that period in consequence of a long and severe attack of gout, the violence of which he attributed to the climate of Central India; and it was then his wish to fix his future residence in a part of the country where he had always enjoyed good health. Shalimar, a favourite villa belonging successively to Sir Charles Metcalfe and him, built on the site of Shah Jehan's gardens, seven miles from Delhi, was the place then chosen, and in which he now sought a retreat from the toils of office, and unworthy persecution by a party in the government.

Affecting no stoicism, he felt acutely the personal disregard shown to him in the name of the highest authority; and allowed the reflection to prey upon his mind that the closing act of his long and honourable services, though compulsory, was a violation of the faith which he had pledged, and a desertion by his country of her post under circumstances when

all our friends amongst the natives desired to see it sternly maintained.

On his arrival at Shalimar, the rainy season had set in; and the recently opened canal which passes through the grounds, overflowing its banks, made the neighbouring fields marshy. The General's infirm constitution, suffering from the exhaustion which follows excitement from depressing thoughts, which the want of business, so long habitual, permitted to intrude, subjected him in this unfortunate locality to an attack of intermittent fever. It recurred, in spite of the usual remedies, with increased violence on the third day afterwards. His medical adviser, dreading the consequence of a return of the paroxysm, which must be expected if the sufferer remained exposed to the causes of the fever, determined in concurrence with the other members of Sir David's family, to remove him immediately to Meerut, the nearest healthy station, where change of air it was hoped might produce a cessation

of the disease. The only vacant house there, that could be heard of on the emergency, belonged to the Begum Sumroo (latterly, for some purpose, called *Sombre*), then residing at Sirdhana. An answer could not be waited for, but it was thought sufficient to apprise the Begum and her principal Christian officer of the urgent occasion for the accommodation, which she could amply and conveniently afford. Interest, however, had already begun to draw off her sneaking train of native chiefs and nobles from the outcast of present power; and when the General reached Meerut after midnight, the Begum's mansion was not lighted up and open to receive him. The doors were bolted within, and sentries stood before them outside. There appeared the intentional negation of welcome to the man in sickness and seeming adversity, whose forbearance, when invested with authority, had left "her Highness" in the enjoyment of the spacious stye and golden manger, which, whatever her unknown deserts may have been, she forfeited

all claim to by her political tergiversation at the siege of Delhi.

Sir David Ochterlony, meanwhile, accompanied by the surgeon of his late residency, was scarcely conscious of what passed. The officer of the Begum's guard, manifesting feelings unknown to his mistress, on hearing of the disappointment which she had occasioned, regretted his inability to behave as he wished, but said that he would not oppose the occupation of the house. It was entered on this permission. The veteran, whose days were about to be numbered, feeling at first greatly better, heard letters read and gave various directions respecting his private affairs, which he had not been able to do previously, since the commencement of his illness. On the day expected, the fever which used to come on early did not appear during the forenoon, and a hope was anxiously entertained that he had escaped the paroxysm. But towards evening the cold fit again attacked him, and was succeeded by a comatose sleep from which he

never awoke. His death took place on the 25th of July, 1825.

Manifestations of respect and regret for the deceased, made in peculiar good taste at the large civil and military station of Meerut, where he expired, appeared throughout India at the time. In the metropolis itself, the feeling in his favour was so strong and universal, that it drew the sympathies of the Governor-General, and some of his reputed advisers, into the common vortex.

In consequence, minute-guns were fired from the ramparts of Fort William, and a becoming acknowledgment was published in the official gazette of the merits of the valued servant, whom the state had lost. Lord Amherst, besides, in his private capacity, contributed a handsome sum to a subscription for building a testimonial to the memory of the late General.

The inhabitants of Calcutta, subsequently did Sir David Ochterlony and themselves much honour by erecting the column in their city which bears his name, and testifies to his worth.

But the noblest and most enduring monument to the hero of Maloun, as he had been appropriately styled, is the beautiful region of the north-west mountains, which his military genius subjected to the sway of his country.

I have but imperfectly, and with no skilful hand, sketched his services in the Nepaulese campaigns. When the world shall have been taught to appreciate them by a fit historian, Ochterlony will be found, in his claims to distinction as a commander, to stand alone, without precursor or successor among Indian officers. Mountain warfare, distinct in its nature and difficulties from every other, had before his time no place in our eastern annals. He will be allowed, on the most cursory view of his operations, to have excelled in strategy, the highest branch of his art; but I consider it the best attribute of his professional character, that he is eminently distinguished for resorting to science, instead of sacrificing men to command success.

It is characteristic of savages to make the

perfection of a great warrior consist in the slaughter of entire armies, or the extirpation of a tribe. Some unseemly remnant of their animal ferocity adheres to the minds of individuals, deliberately writing in our intellectual and refined age, who rate the ability of a modern General by the number of fellow-creatures whom he destroys, or leads to destruction. They who thus estimate the most admired effort of human talent, in the spirit of a cannibal, appear to abjure all that we have gained by civilization. But if it be, as I believe it is, the actuating principle of every good man engaged in war, to seek reputation by employing intellect rather than brute force, and by the magnitude of the obstacles which he overcomes with least detriment to the interests of humanity in executing his trust, Ochterlony is entitled to enviable fame. I know of no soldier who has ever accomplished more than he with the loss of fewer men. Though out-numbered by the mountaineers, in the proportion of at least three to one, on

their own ground, he subdued the Goorkhas without losing, in the two campaigns, five hundred of his regular troops, less by one half than perished elsewhere under the sword of the same enemy in a single night.

His abilities and peculiarities as a statesman cannot be made known without the publication of his official correspondence. He framed no remarkable treaties, nor negotiated any important alliances, which can be referred to. The weight of his opinion and advice on the princes and ministers, with whom he held friendly communication on their affairs, was, doubtless, productive of infinite but unnoticed good. None, indeed, ever better understood the character of the natives, as the means by which it is to be influenced. With a taste, partaking of the Asiatic, for splendour and profuse expenditure, he imitated their great men in whatever was stately and imposing. But with regard to their thousand small forms and petty ceremonies, by which they try to assert, or obtain pretensions at the expense of others, those solemn

and trifling observances, in which our diplomatists, respectful of Oriental learning and etiquette, generally excite ridicule, by awkwardly attempting to follow, and getting overreached to boot, Ochterlony, sweeping them all aside, treated the whole array of nonsense like a fence of cobwebs whenever it came in the way of anything useful or desirable. Chiefs and courtiers, when they found him, instead of wasting weeks and months in playing at their recondite game of precedence and dignity, yield the stakes as he would present toys to children, laughed at their own puerilities, and entered on serious business at once.

He was wont, however, it must be remarked, to make light of forms even where they are convenient and unobjectionable. Hence, probably, one cause of the enmity with which he, in most instances, inspired men of office, whose official existence, as a still greater personage, Louis XIV., said of himself, is little else than a form. Similar impatience of unessential accompaniments and wilful impediments ap-

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professing anxiety to lengthen the Honourable Company's shadow, would name the real but unmentioned object without preface, and pronounce it inadmissible, to the dismay of the suitor who was expecting to succeed by keeping his drift out of sight.

Sir David, though he advocated and enforced strict subordination on points of military duty, liked to see all persons independent and equal in private company. None but men of sense, he thought, bore submission and restraint with good-will, even when indispensable; such persons did so cheerfully, when allowed relaxation afterwards; but if the dining-room be made a parade, the best officers will rebel in their hearts. At his own table, and before the decline of his health and spirits, he delighted in splendid hospitality. Nothing offended him more than to hear of any one, whether a vain field-officer, a bashful subaltern, or a fine lady, expecting "attention." The invitation to be his companions for the time, according to him, expressed his wish to make

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Sir David Ochterlony's capital fault as a man, and in some degree, though by no means to the same extent as a public officer, was pecuniary extravagance. He was generous to excess; often doing extensive good, but not less frequently throwing his money away. He seldom dismissed *borrowers* unsatisfied; and they did not spare him. Deeming it unhandsome to demand receipts from ladies and gentlemen, not a few had the acuteness to discover, and take advantage of his foible in a manner which it is mortifying to reflect on. Among the "distinguished visitors" who occasionally honour this country, were birds of passage and prey, unambitious of leaving a good name behind them, who condescended to accept largely of advances from the General's coffers which they have not yet repaid. Were the principal and interest of all their unrecorded debts honestly liquidated, the aggregate would rather exceed than fall short of £30,000. He cannot be said to have saved anything out of his salary as Resident, nine thousand rupees

monthly, for the last nine years of his life. Though most anxious to leave a fortune to his heir, the accumulation of the pension from the Court of Directors in England was all that he could allot to that purpose before his death. Shares subscribed for in the Laudable Society of Calcutta, and the sale of his property, provided the remainder of what he left his successor in the baronetcy, and the rest of his family.

The career of one of the ablest servants of the Honourable Company, exhibited in this narrative, shows under what contingencies the race is awarded to the swift, and the battle to the strong by the local government of India. During tranquil and prosperous times, merit in the abstract is perhaps nowhere much in demand. *Par nobis neque supra*, is the motto of most rulers, and with us it seems to depend on the accidental existence of kindred capacity in the head of the state, even when pressed by difficulty and danger, whether first-rate talents shall be shunned and

neglected, or employed to advance the public good. Hence, under the auspices of a Wellesley, Ochterlony was selected and appointed to one of the foremost offices in the political department. Sir George Barlow removed him to a sinecure command. He was restored to political employ and important duties by a Minto. A Hastings sent him forth to achieve military triumphs, and to exercise the first subordinate functions. He was finally censured and driven from public life by the minister of Earl Amherst of Arracan.

These two classes of governors, estimated as they stand in general opinion, like the opposite poles of the magnet, respectively attracting and repelling the same object, concur singularly in attesting the genuine worth of the individual whom they alternately elevated and depressed.

Ochterlony's title to the esteem and confidence of the greatest of his official superiors, was confirmed by the applause of the European and native communities under the Bengal Presidency. The friendship, and in some cases,

the confidential intercourse, which he enjoyed with the most eminent of his compeers—the Lakes, the Malcolms, the Elphinstones, and the Metcalfes, are testimonies borne to his personal deserts by men who could not be dazzled or deceived. They who probably knew the man more intimately still, from seeing daily the undisguised acts of his heart and mind, the officers of his staff and Residency, who were with him in the gaieties of his home during peace, in camps, in deserts, in the bivouacs of the Nepaul mountains, and on the field of battle, retain one uniform impression of respect and affection for his memory.

These feelings, which power and favour cannot buy, were produced by mere intrinsic qualities. Of the reciprocity and sense of gratitude with which he repaid the good will and good offices of his friends, unbiassed by worldly influences, I will mention a simple, but to me, an affecting illustration. He died with Lawtie's mourning-ring on his finger, ten years after the premature death of that young and valued officer had separated them

for ever. This instance, with something of historical interest to recommend it, will prove sufficiently, what hundreds more might be drawn from the privacies of life to attest, that the kindliest sympathies in him warmed the same breast, which could be steeled by fixedness of purpose, and that hardihood of soul which despises toil and danger.

In now concluding, I have to state my conviction, that the facts related or referred to in depicting the subject of this sketch will be found substantially correct. Relying solely on the unalterable evidence which they afford, and suppressing the voice of partial regard, I shall be authorized to pronounce Ochterlony in the naked excellence of his character, divested of the drapery of titles and station, to have been a man who derived his highest nobility from nature, and earned, by his public services, a conspicuous place among the distinguished British officers who have extended the dominion, and upheld the true glory of their country in Asia.

CHAPTER VI.

FORMATION AND SERVICES OF THE SIRMOOR BATTALION.

In the year 1815, four battalions were formed from the disbanded Nepaulese troops,

the troops who came over to Colonel Nicols at the close of the campaign.

The Sirmoor battalion had not been embodied six months when it was reported by its zealous commandant, "fit for active service;" it was immediately directed to join the force forming at Seetapore, to invade the pass into Nepaul. The corps moved at once, and had reached Moradabad when the army was suddenly broken up, and the battalion returned to Deyrah, which was selected as their future cantonment in preference to the former post of Nahan. Scarcely, however, had temporary huts been erected, when the army at Seetapore was again formed under Colonel Nicols. The corps marched at a moment's warning, pushed across the Ganges below Hurdwar, and joined the rendezvous by rapid marches.

The battalion was on its arrival received by Colonel Nicols, highly complimented, and reported by him to be "the only corps with the army properly equipped for Hill-service." Their ammunition was packed in portable boxes, pre-

pared for the purpose by Lieutenant Young, and transported on the backs of hill Klashies or Peepawallahs, recruited for the purpose, and permanently attached to the corps. The Goorkhas were clothed in their mountain costume, and were unincumbered with tents of any description, nor, indeed, did they require them, for in a wooded country, such as they were about to invade, the Rhokerees by their sides would have provided a comfortable shelter in ten minutes, and they had been too long accustomed to bivouac on their native mountains, under the open canopy of Heaven, to feel the absence of camp equipage as a deprivation.

Notwithstanding the praises of Colonel Nicols, he intimated that "he could not trust" the little Highlanders, as it was not natural to suppose that they would so soon fight against their brethren of Nepaul. Their commander smiled at the idea, feeling the utmost confidence in his men, and longing to prove to the gallant colonel, that the Goorkhas were

soldiers of fortune, who would fight faithfully and bravely for their employers: unfortunately they were not tried. The successes of Sir David Ochterlony brought on peace with the Nepaulese; and the corps once more returned to Deyrah, and remained till 1818, when the 2nd Nusseeree battalion was ordered to join the army forming under Sir David Ochterlony at Kurnaul. It was, however, ascertained that the corps was not in a sufficiently good state of discipline; and Captain Young immediately solicited and obtained permission for the employment of his battalion in their stead, before (to use his own expression) "the spirit of the corps evaporated." Accordingly, in the month of October, 1818, the Sirmoor battalion, joined, by forced marches, the reserve of the grand army at Goorgong, and served under Sir David the whole of the Mahratta campaign, which closed, on the part of this force, with the taking of Jumshed's gun at Sambertoke, after three days' forced marching under General Knox. Shortly afterwards, three hundred guns

were made over in charge to Captain Young, who escorted them to Delhi with his own corps, and two battalions of the Begum Sumroo's troops. After this duty had been performed, the Goorkhas returned to their cantonments at Deyrah, in the month of April. About this period, the corps was reduced to eight companies of eighty men.

On the 2nd of October, 1824, an express reached Deyrah from Mr. Grindall, the magistrate of Saharunpore, stating that a part of the district had risen in rebellion, that upwards of eight hundred men, principally Goojurs, headed by the notorious free-booter Kower, had taken possession of the Gurhee of Koonja, in that zillah, and were committing every species of atrocity. He solicited the immediate aid of two hundred rank and file of the Sirmoor battalion, with the requisite proportion of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The express reached Deyrah at 8 P.M., and at 2 A.M. the detachment was *en route*, commanded by Captain Young, and accompanied by the

Honourable Mr. Shore, of the Civil Service, who, with his accustomed zeal and love of enterprise, marched with the little band. Mr. Grindall joined the detachment at Secunderpore, with one hundred and fifty men of the Sirmoor battalion, who had been stationed at Saharunpore, attended by Lieutenant Debude of the engineers, and Doctor Royle, as volunteers. After resting for about an hour, the party moved on to Koonja, which they reached about 2 P.M., having made a forced march of thirty-six miles to the scene of action.

The rebels were drawn up outside the fort, and along the skirts of the village in order for battle, and at once opened their fire upon the advancing column, which was instantly led to the attack by Captain Young. The conflict was short and decisive, and the enemy, routed and broken, took refuge in the stronghold in their rear.

After taking a rapid survey of the gurhee in which the marauders had posted themselves, it was determined that the attack should be made

at once; otherwise the whole gang would, in all probability, make their escape, and disperse during the night, only to re-unite in some other part of the district. The walls of the fort were high, however, and in excellent repair. Escalade was out of the question, as there were neither ladders nor the means of making them, nor indeed was there sufficient time for the undertaking. Without a gun, therefore, to blow open the gate, there appeared little prospect of a successful result to the assault; the walls were well protected by matchlock men; and a determined band of the ruffians, well armed, hopeless of mercy, and treble the number of their assailants, were not likely to prove an easy, or a bloodless conquest. The question was how to *get at them*, but necessity is the mother of invention. A large tree was in the course of a few minutes levelled to the earth, by the ready khokeries of the Goorkhas, the branches lopped off, and a huge "battering ram" formed from the trunk. Ropes were obtained, and being fixed along it at equal dis-

tances, were manned on each side by the little mountaineers, Mr. Shore and Lieutenant Debude claiming the honour of supporting the two front ropes.

Captain Young instantly made his arrangements for the attack, and led on the skirmishers to the edge of the ditch to cover the advance of the storming party—a heavy and galling fire was kept up from the ramparts, as well as through the chinks of the wooden door of the gurhee, by which many of our little fellows were knocked over, but the *ram* pushed steadily on. They reached the gateway, but the enemy for some time prevented the close approach of the party by thrusting long spears through the openings in the door, and making a most determined and obstinate resistance; this opposition, however, was at length sufficiently overcome "to get within hitting distance," and with a "one, two, three, hurra!!!" bang went the battering ram against the iron bound gate, which, at the fourth or fifth blow, flew from its hinges on one side, so as to admit two men

abreast, but not in an upright posture. Young, supported by two of his little fellows, instantly dashed through the opening, closely followed by Shore and the rest of the party, and at this moment the fate of the gallant leader of the attack was nearly sealed. As he rushed on without having time to look about him, in order to allow his immediate supporters to get through the opening, a man sprang from the corner in the rear of him, and aimed a desperate blow at the back of his neck, which would most assuredly have killed him, but the quick eye of Shore, who had just reared his tall form, after bolting through the aperture, instantly saw his friend's danger, and with the full swing of his sword he sent the lifeless trunk of the Goojur bounding past Young. The tulwar, however, descended where it had been aimed, but the arm which impelled it was already paralyzed and nerveless from Shore's mortal blow, and a bruise and a blue mark on Young's neck were the only consequences of the murderous attempt.

The bloody conflict was soon over; the rebels fought desperately, and died game; but in a few minutes the bayonet and the khokery decided the contest; and those of the enemy who thought discretion the better part of valour, dropped from the walls and escaped, with the exception of a few who were cut up by the police sowars outside. During this brilliant affair, an athletic and gigantic Pehlwan suddenly confronted Shore on the flat roof of a house communicating with the ramparts. He was perfectly naked, with the exception of a slip of cloth over his loins, and had painted himself gaily and fantastically for this his last battle. He was armed with a sword and shield, and had evidently made up his mind to a bloody bier, but not without desperate strife, so long as he had power to wield his blade. He scornfully addressed his antagonist, as they mutually advanced to meet each other: "What, you too have turned sipahee, and come to fight the Goojurs!" The next instant their swords

flashed in the setting sun, and the struggle commenced. Shore was fighting at a great disadvantage, his shield having been rendered nearly useless by the loss of the corded handle by which it is held; and he was therefore obliged to grasp instead the two small rings to which the handle had been attached. At this moment, Young ascended the steps leading from the court below, and instantly levelled his Manton at the Goojur's breast; the first barrel flashed in the pan, but a ball from the second struck the centre of his chest, just as he was making a desperate cut at his adversary. The blade swept on, however, under Shore's shield, and gashed his side, but its force was gone; the Pehlwan's sword clove the air like a lightning flash, when his sinewy arm first whirled it, whistling on its deadly errand; but the ball had entered his vitals at that instant, and the sword of his gallant opponent, which was descending at the moment, felled him lifeless on the terrace. Shore knew nothing of the

Manton ball, for his back was towards Young; nor does it in the smallest degree detract from his conspicuous gallantry.

The loss of the detachment in this dashing affair was one havildar and five sepoys killed, one soobadár, one jumadar and twenty-nine sepoys wounded, of whom six died in consequence of their wounds. The enemy, however, suffered in the proportion of six or seven to one; and this formidable gang was completely broken and dispersed. Had not these prompt and energetic measures been resorted to, the intention of the insurgents was to have attacked and plundered the town and station of Seharunpore; and considering how the disaffected and dissolute would have swelled their ranks, and the very small force opposed to them at that place, there is little doubt that they would have succeeded in their object.

The principal outlaw, Begee Sing, (and for whose head a reward had been offered), was killed during the assault, and his head placed on a pole in front of the jail at Deyrah. The

notorious Kour, however, made good his retreat, but was afterwards apprehended and hanged at Seharunpore. After remaining some days in the district, the gallant little detachment of the Goorkhas returned to their cantonment.

The following is an extract of a letter from the Secretary to Government, which was forwarded to Captain Young on this occasion, by the Adjutant-General of the army:

"His Lordship in Council desires me to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that government view with high approbation the conduct of the detachment employed on this occasion. The zeal and promptitude evinced by Captain Young are highly creditable to him, and the support he received from Lieutenant Debude entitles that officer to much praise. His Excellency is accordingly requested to communicate these the sentiments of government to the parties. The Governor General in Council also requests that Captain Young may be au-

thorized to communicate to his little Goorkhas, on parade, the approbation of government for their steadiness and bravery. The meritorious conduct of the gentlemen of the civil service will be noticed in the proper department."

The following are extracts from the division order issued by Sir Thomas Reynell, commanding the division:

"Major-General Reynell performs a most gratifying duty in acquainting the division, that a very brilliant service was achieved on the 3rd instant by a detachment of three hundred and fifty men of the Sirmoor battalion under the personal command of Captain Young, supported by a party of sowars under the direction of the Honourable Mr. Shore, of the Civil Service.

"In a conflict of this nature, it was but natural to expect that considerable loss would be sustained on both sides; but the Major-General is most happy to find that the insurgents have suffered on a scale of six to one.

"Mr. Shore has been wounded by sabre-cuts on both breasts, after performing feats of valour, and displaying exertions in the cause, which entitle him to the applause of those who have the power of bestowing it.

"The Major-General requests that Captain Young will accept his best acknowledgments for the able and decided manner in which he conducted this service, and that he will communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers and sepoys, who acted under his orders, the admiration with which he views their loyal, steady, and spirited behaviour in their first advance upon the insurgents, and in the subsequent successful assault of the fort of Koonja.

"Captain Young will also be good enough to assure Lieutenant Debude and Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Royle, of his sense of their zealous and active exertions upon this occasion; and in the event of any individual of the corps having particularly distinguished himself, the Major-General requests to receive his name and rank,

that he may bring the same to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief."

Two jumadars, two naiks, and six sepoys were promoted in general orders for this distinguished gallantry.

The Court of Directors also expressed their applause in the following paragraph:

"Captain Young, Lieutenant Debude, and Doctor Royle are entitled to great approbation for the distinguished zeal and gallantry displayed by them on the occasion described in this paragraph; and we much approve of the promotion with which you have rewarded the bravery and attachment of the Goorkha troops employed under their command.

"The very gallant and distinguished conduct of the Honourable Mr. Shore will be noticed in another department."

In January 1825, the Sirmoor battalion was again increased to ten companies, and in No-

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barricaded; and many a "good shot" was the result of their practice.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to witness the extreme good-fellowship and kindly feeling with which the Europeans and the Goorkhas mutually regarded each other. A six-foot-two grenadier of the 59th would offer a cheroot to the "little Gorkee," as he styled him, the latter would take it from him with a grin; and when his tall and patronizing comrade stooped down with a lighted segar in his mouth, the little mountaineer never hesitated a moment in puffing away at it with the one just received—no qualms of conscience or feeling of contamination, although generally high-cast Hindoos; and they were consequently patted on the back and called "prime chaps."

On the morning of the storm they were directed, on the signal being given, to extend to the flanks on the edge of the glacis, and cover the advance of the storming party; they accordingly took their station in the trenches at the head of the column of attack, but a

few minutes previous to the explosion of the mine, which was the thundering and earthquake signal to storm, the order was countermanded, and they were directed to follow in after the gallant 59th. These directions were obeyed, with the exception of going in *with* them instead of *after* them; for when the British grenadiers with a deafening "hurra" made their maddening rush at the breach, at that glorious and soul-stirring moment it was impossible to restrain them, and they dashed into the thick of it.

I could give many instances of individual gallantry, but it is sufficient to record that on the breaking up of the army, the little Goorkhas had gained the confidence and esteem of their superiors, and the hearty good-will of the European troops, with whom they generally acted, and with whom they were encamped. I must, however, mention that on the morning after the storm, they returned the flattering partiality of the latter by the following characteristic remark: "The Europeans are brave as lions, they are

splendid Sipahees, and *very nearly* equal to us !"

This may sound ludicrous enough, but *esprit de corps* and national confidence in their own stubborn courage, are the natural and distinguishing peculiarities of Goorkha sepoys, and all I can say is, it would take many a bloody and disastrous field to thrash the feeling out of them. About this period the Sirmoor battalion was again reduced to eight companies of eighty men, those in excess being borne on the rolls as supernumeraries.

The Goorkha corps are armed with fusils instead of muskets: their dress is the same pattern as that of the sepoys of the line, colour green, with black facings, and black belts, green chako, and bronzed ornaments. The distinguishing peculiarity in their equipment is the khokery. This is the private property of the sepoy, and is slung on the left side in rear of the bayonet, the waist-belt securing both. It is held in general and deserved estimation by the Goorkhas, is a most useful weapon at all

times, and at close quarters in action a most dangerous and deadly one. The khokery is shaped like a curved knife, narrow near the handle, and curving inwards, the blade varying from fourteen to sixteen inches in length, and two and half inches wide at its broadest part. The case in which it is contained is likewise furnished with various useful articles, viz.: a couple of small knives, a pair of scissors, needle and thread, tweezers, and the requisite apparatus for striking a light, and in the use of which the Goorkhas are remarkably expert, the white cotton-like bark of a tree common in these mountains supplying them with the tinder, which, when prepared and dried in the sun, ignites by the first spark from the flint. A Goorkha soldier, therefore, with a gun on his shoulder and the khokery by his side, is, in his native islands, independent of a commissariat, and when hard pushed for a meal can shoot a deer, light a fire, and cut fuel to cook his dinner; and it was by means of this useful weapon that the stockades were so rapidly

erected during the Nepaul war, in the capture of which so many lives were generally sacrificed.

The genuine Goorkha is recognised by his high cheek bones, broad Tartar features, small elongated eyes, and the total absence of whisker or moustache, with the exception of a few straggling hairs on the upper lip, cherished with great care. As a race they are considerably below the average height of the natives of Hindostan; broad-chested, and bull-necked; and the muscles of the thigh and leg are so enormously developed as in some instances to appear somewhat preposterous and unnatural. Many of them, however, are in point of muscular form a perfect study for a statuary. They are capable of enduring great fatigue, and in their constant sporting excursions amongst the heavy and savage forests of the Dhoon, or to the banks of the Jumna or Ganges with their fishing tackle, perform journeys which would almost appear incredible to a European pedestrian, particularly, as on their return they have generally a heavy load of venison or fish, slung on their shoul-

ders. The Goorkhas are passionately fond of the sports of the field, and indeed are accustomed to feed their families at Deyrah, in a great measure, on game, the hard earned trophies of many a toilsome journey and dangerous enterprise. The pay of the privates is only five rupees eight annas; and were it not for their sporting propensities they would find some difficulty in feeding the many hungry mouths which each hut contains, for they are generally married men with a troop of young highlanders dependent on them. It is principally attributable to those habits that so many expert marksmen are to be found in the ranks of the Sirmoor battalion. The mere routine of a few weeks' practice at the target will never form many "good shots," although superintended with the utmost zeal and attention, because the greater proportion of the men look upon it as a species of task and parade at the best. But when the sportsman starts on his journey before break of day, with four or five charges only of *his own* powder and ball, and

feels that on the results of these few shots depend on his return the cheerful and smiling welcome of those dear to him, or the jeers of his comrades and the disappointed looks of the good dame and his sanguine family, it follows as a matter of course that he does his utmost to make every ball not only strike the object which he fires at, but to hit it in a mortal and deadly part, so as to render a further indent on his little store unnecessary. On this principle if a small portion of the practice ball ammunition was given to the men instead of being expended at the butt, it would be a great assistance to them, and would yield an ample reward in securing expert marksmen.

During these rambles amidst the almost impervious forests of the Dhoon, the little fellows sometimes suffer from the gripe of a tiger or the loving embrace of a bear; but it would be hard on that account to prevent their occasionally indulging in such excursions.

As illustrative of the Goorkha character, I give the following facts:—

A tiger had been seen within a few miles of Deyrah, and Colonel Young (then captain), accompanied by Colonel Childers of Her Majesty's 11th dragoons, mounted an elephant and hastened to the spot. They, however, were unsuccessful in rousing him; and after a long and tedious search were quietly returning home. A Goorkha sepoy was following the elephant with his fusil over his shoulder, when he suddenly dropped on one knee, and presented his piece as if in the act to fire. Having, however, roused the attention of the gentlemen, he did not pull the trigger, but kept his fusil fixed in the same position. He had suddenly caught sight of the fiery eyes of the tiger, who was crouched amongst the underwood close to the path, and within three paces of the muzzle of his gun: in this situation they steadily regarded each other. The elephant was immediately pushed up as close as possible to the kneeling Goorkha, and neither of the sportsmen could succeed in catching a glimpse of the animal. In order, if possible, to observe

the direction more accurately, Captain Young called out, "recover arms." The sepoy came to the recover as calmly and collectedly as if on his own parade. "Present!" down went the fusil again, and remained motionless as its object; this was repeated, but still the tiger was invisible. Captain Young exclaimed, "That gallant fellow shall not be left unassisted;" and in a moment dropped from the elephant and placed himself close to the sepoy. He looked along the levelled barrel, but to no purpose; the brute was not to be distinguished. Cocking his gun, therefore, he told the Goorkha to fire; there was a terrific roar, a forward rush for one instant, and all was still. When the smoke and dust cleared away, there lay the tiger perfectly dead. The ball had struck the centre of his forehead, and entered his brain.

The Goorkha sepoys are very tractable; and to illustrate their general good conduct, and the ease with which they are managed by those acquainted with their habits and character, it is

only requisite to mention that there has only been one court-martial in the Sirmoor battalion for a period of nearly seven years.

They are in disposition exceedingly hasty and irritable, and generally act from the impulse of the moment; but such feelings evaporate at once with the explosion, and neither sulkiness nor revenge is the result.

They are addicted to gambling, and thoughtless and improvident in money matters; too much in the habit of "spending half-a-crown out of sixpence a day."

On occasions of festivity they indulge pretty freely in the use of ardent spirits; but I never knew an instance of a Goorkha sepoy being drunk on parade, or on duty of any kind. Notwithstanding their habits of free living, they are exceedingly superstitious, and make long and arduous journeys to propitiate the numerous deities which preside over every towering peak and thundering cataract of their native mountain, possessing at the same time a

thorough highland belief in witchcraft and all its mysteries.

I may here mention that at the Hindoo festival of the Dussera, there is a peculiarity in the observance of the ceremony, which is I believe entirely confined to this race, viz. : the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes as an offering at the rural shrine erected for the purpose on the last day of the holiday. On this occasion a number of goats and two or three buffaloes, three parts grown, are collected around the rude altar on the parade; the horns and heads of the animals are painted, and garlands of flowers hung round their necks. As soon as the accustomed rites have been performed by the attendant priests, the slaughter commences, amidst the firing of cannon and fusils. The heads of the goats are invariably severed from the neck with the utmost care by one blow from the khokery, but the dexterity of the feat consists in not only cutting through the thickest part of the neck, but severing both forelegs with the same stroke.

The sacrifice of the buffaloes then commences, and the most expert swordsman is chosen, who, after various incantations, advances to his post; and I have seen every muscle of his firmly-knit frame tremble with anxiety ere the sword was raised to strike.

In general two strokes are required to separate the head from the body, but I have on two or three occasions seen the neck of a three parts grown bull buffalo fairly cut asunder by the first blow. The Goorkhas (men, women, and children) then rub their hands and feet in the blood as it gushes from the headless trunk, or in some instances content themselves with dipping their fingers in it, and smearing their arms and foreheads.

The highlanders do not wear their European costume with that jaunty air which is often perceptible in the sepoys of the plains, and require a good deal of attention in this respect, as they are inclined to be slovenly in their dress, although unusually active and energetic in their movements.

The Goorkhas originally enrolled in the ranks of the Sirmoor battalion, are fast disappearing, and as they become invalided generally "turn their swords into ploughshares," and are the most industrious cultivators hitherto settled in the Dhoon, their energy of character being perceptible even as husbandmen. Notwithstanding the extreme and proverbial jealousy of the Nepaul government, the relations of the sepoys in our service now and then elude the vigilance of their parent state, and many real Nepaulese have from time to time been enlisted; but the principal source from which the ranks are recruited is from amongst the offspring of the old soldiers. These are in many instances (to use a sporting expression) "thorough bred," but generally the result of a marriage between a Goorkha and a woman from the interior of the Hills. The breed is a most promising one, however; the lads are good-looking, smart in their dress, and having been trained from their boyish days in military habits, and aspiring

from year to year to the honour of carrying a fusil in the ranks of a corps with which they feel themselves identified, they are particularly quick in attaining a knowledge of their duties. Indeed the principal amusement of the little broad-faced urchins who crowd the lines, is "playing at soldiers" and aping their seniors in the performance of the "manual and platoon" and light infantry manœuvres. Little fellows of three and four years of age draw up to the side of the road when an officer passes, and salute him with a dignity and solemnity perfectly edifying.

With such materials, therefore, to select from as vacancies occur in the ranks, there is little fear that the Sirmoor battalion will degenerate; and when an opportunity is again furnished, there can be no doubt that the "little Goorkhas" will maintain their character, and gather fresh laurels wherewith to adorn their cherished garland.

In commemoration of the affair at Koonja,

the Honourable Mr. Shore presented the corps with a magnificent "battering ram," constructed on scientific principles, and the head and curved horns covered with a thick plate of brass. This stands in front of the quarter guard, and on occasions of festivity is gaily painted and festooned with flowers.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE MEMORIAL OF SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY, TO THE HON. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

sovereignty of Bhurtpore, I feel myself reduced to the alternative of tacitly acknowledging error, or of openly charging my superior with injustice. I come prepared, in consequence, to shew that my proceedings were not only expedient in themselves and demanded by the circumstances of the period, to maintain the honour and tranquillity of the state, but fully sanctioned by the same government which has since condemned them without reservation. In protesting against acts which followed this disavowal of my procedure, I hope also to exonerate my character and memory from the just reproach, which might otherwise await the unwilling agent of a transaction in which the British government shrunk from an important duty, and for a time abandoned the high station that it had obtained in India. I shall, therefore, proceed first to advert briefly to those principles which have hitherto been recognised in our relations with Indian States; next to the disposition of the public mind when I was called on to decide; and lastly, to the affairs of Bhurtpore which led to my interference as a political functionary and military commander.

1st.—Were it not for the doctrine solemnly inculcated by his Lordship in Council, that "the will of the chiefs and people" is to be consulted when their sovereign solicits the aid of his acknowledged para-

mount, I should deem it superfluous to mention the fact of all these Hindoo or Mahommedan principalities being pure despotisms. The voice of the people has not yet been heard in the East. Without a legislative organ to give it utterance, or the last conception of their inherent right to appoint and control their rulers, the allegiance of the multitude is readily yielded to the strongest, nor am I aware that the nobility have any admitted privileges. They may offer the advice of servants to a master, but on no occasion can they dictate or legislate for themselves or community. Ambitious and equally devoid of patriotism and loyalty, these chiefs, so far from supporting order, are the constant instigators of internal discord, unable at the same time to reconcile the jarring pretensions they were wont to effect, or accompany changes of administration with bloodshed and convulsion. Among such nobles and peasantry in their state of society, no usurper, however flagitious, if possessed of wealth, need want abettors in seizing the rights of another. The ever-recurring evils to which the native states are liable, when left to themselves, are attested by the former history of India, in which the tranquil reign of a minor is scarcely on record. Still, conscious of the existence of this turbulent and predatory inclination in their powerful subjects, the princes acknowledging our supremacy have sought

our guarantee for the peace of their dominions and the continuation of their dynasties. Hence, the origin of the paramount authority which the British government has exercised for these last ten years. The compact thus established has proved highly beneficial to the contracting parties, and the maintenance of it now, is equally essential to the dignity of the superior and the safety of the rest. Engagements being entered into in each case with the Prince for himself and his heirs exclusively, any interruption of the recognised line of succession, necessarily annuls the agreement. No legislature nor constitution upholds the faith of the nation distinct from the sovereign, in a community which submits to him precisely like an army to its commander. Good policy, therefore, as well as humanity, requires us imperatively to support those rights which we have acknowledged. In all the treaties it is stipulated that the enemies of one state shall be the enemies of the other, without admitting any exception of domestic conspiracy endangering or subverting the sway of our allies. The distinction, indeed, between foreign and civil war in India, where factions generally extend through several states, must ever prove virtually nugatory. In the last treaty of 1805, with Bhurtpore, the first clause of the seventh article guarantees the protection of the Maharajah's territory from enemies generally, while another promises troops to oppose

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rence with the internal affairs of such governments seems disclaimed by the Governor-General in the instance to be considered, I had not long before been instructed by his Lordship in Council, that the Rao Rajah of Ulwar, if proved guilty of instigating the attempted assassination of his neighbour the Nawaub Ahmed Buksh Khan, ought to be deprived of his sovereignty. This right of deprivation, which appears unquestionably to involve every other, not to go beyond the limits of my own jurisdiction, has been twice exercised during my administration of the affairs of Central India. The Governor-General in Council, in these cases most justly abrogated the birthright of the heirs apparent of Pertaub Ghur and of Nursing Ghur, who, for committing detestable murders while both possessed sovereign power delegated to them by the Rajahs, were divested of the inheritance of their ancestors. From facts like these, it is obvious that the mere letter of a treaty, when such interposes, or the international law of more enlightened regions never prevents the British government from acting decisively on the enlarged principle of moral justice for the well-being of communities.

Let it be remembered that Bhurtpore, also a protected state, differs in no essential particular from Ulwar, Nursing Ghur, or Pertaub Ghur, on its relatives with the Paramount government. And after attending to

the agitated condition of the country, when the standard of rebellion was raised within its capital, your Honourable Court will be enabled to form an opinion of the course which it behoved me to pursue, as the first political and military authority on the spot.

2nd.—The British empire in India is often pronounced to be founded, more than any other, on opinion. By which I understand a belief in the governed, that the wisdom, resources, but above all, the military strength of their rulers, remains unexhausted and invincible. At least it is certainly this unwelcome faith, which, among us, represses the hope of discontented millions, and retains them in quiet subjection. About the time in question, however, unpropitious occurrences tended greatly to diminish the awe of our subjects, and to engender in their minds increasing suspicions of our stability. The protraction, the difficulties, and chiefly, the reverses of the Burmese war, exaggerated to caricature, but not the less fondly, were widely circulated, and, no doubt, influential in producing several inconsiderable commotions. These circumstances gave plausibility to artful enemies when they predicted our downfall; the people in many parts of the country were made to believe Calcutta was taken by the Burmans, and the members of government fled to Europe. The more intelligent who might have discredited such tales were yet led into similar error by palpable appearances.

Troops continually moving towards the scene of hostilities until the Upper Provinces seemed left defenceless, and the unwonted spectacle of ammunition and arms from the distant magazines of Delhi and Agra descending the rivers in fleets of boats, appeared undeniable indications of weakness and retrogression. It is no disgrace to the East India Company that their sway is disliked by all their ambitious and warlike subjects. These long for the revival of that anarchy which, among other high excitements, gave every man of courage the hope of rising from insignificance to pre-eminence.

The security guaranteed to life and property by the present order of things is no compensation to such characters for the loss of prospects like these. Men of this description having now succeeded to an alarming extent in magnifying our disasters and underrating our remaining means of upholding authority, nothing but a daring leader, possessed of treasure, was wanting to array any number of an armed population against us. At this important crisis the eyes of all were turned to Bhurtpore, a fort which Lord Lake was foiled in attempting to capture. It has, in consequence, for these last twenty years, been the opprobium of British arms, and the rallying point of disaffection to our domination throughout India. Those who regard military glory as the noblest portion of a nation's strength, and the assertion of it as the paramount duty of a soldier,

all conjectural my motives in preparing to assail rather than hang on the defensive, and for seeking to meet with promptitude an outrageous affront from the possessor of a strong-hold whose boasted name implied the disgrace of the army to which I belong.

2d. The circumstances of the case which I come now to detail, were in themselves sufficiently aggravated to call for condign punishment on the aggressor.

On the 27th August, 1824, I transmitted to government the request of Baldeo Sing, the Rajah of Bhurtpore, that his only son, Balwunt Sing, a boy about six years of age, might be publicly recognised as his heir apparent. An answer, dated October the 1st, was received from the Secretary in the Political Department, signifying the ready compliance of the Governor-General in Council with the Rajah's wishes, which I was accordingly directed to fulfil, provided the child proved undoubtedly to be his son. As I had already ascertained and reported the relationship of the heir to the reigning Prince, this cautious qualification of the order, impressed my mind with full conviction not only of his Lordship's having authorized the recognition of the Rajah's son, but of his knowledge that the British government, in the very words of the letter, thereby committed itself to support him. Such at least is the most obvious interpretation of my instructions. But considerable delay occurring on account of other busi-

ness, I took occasion in writing to the Secretary on the 5th of November, to inform him expressly that Buldeo Sing's anxiety for the speedy acknowledgment of his heir, proceeded from the infirm state of his own health, and his anticipation of some attempt to disturb the minority of his lineal successor.

This communication concluded by intimating my intention to recognise the boy Bulwant Sing, by investing him in the appropriate manner agreeably to "the orders received." Now, if not before, the Governor-General was made perfectly aware, not merely of the construction put upon his directions, but of what I had resolved to do in consequence. Nor had I concealed the probability that rebellion might await the accession of a Prince whom I was proceeding to receive under the protection of his Lordship's government. No prohibitory orders, nor any disapprobation of this announced resolution, was issued to me during three months that elapsed before it would have been too late to correct error.

The ceremony of recognition, thus long postponed, at last took place at Bhurtpore on the 6th of January, 1825.

On this occasion the residency surgeon had, by invitation, a long interview with the Rajah, at which he found no reason to think him in imminent danger, but, on the contrary, was of opinion that his complaints were curable under the treatment of an European physician. I did

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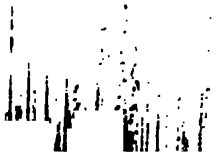
On the 5th of March over exerting himself i religion. Before expirir cipal officers to be sworn maintain the right of his could have done more Bulwant Sing, the acknov proclaimed without oppos wards Doorjun Sal, the d according to established u succession after the issue a band of mercenaries, m nected with the principali town, and blew open a g took possession, murderin as he found it expedient taken by this

paramount state, his sole hope of success and impunity was founded on our supposed inability to oppose him by force of arms. In consequence, few preparations were made to defend the place. Having found sixteen lacs of rupees in one of the bastions, he had little difficulty in gaining over part, and neutralizing the rest, of an army, of which the men are chiefly aliens. The young Rajah, meanwhile, having been carried by his father's friends into the private apartments of the palace, where the bulk of the public treasure was lodged, he remained there, guarded by five hundred of the faithful troops.

I foresaw, however, that Doorjun Sal must soon be master, and disposed to extend his power with increasing means. Such was the posture of affairs when the adherents of the lawful Prince demanded the assistance of the British government. I conceived their right to it indisputable. I felt the contempt of our authority manifested in this quarter, and believed that the identical circumstance which led Doorjun Sal to think rebellion safe, carried with it danger to us. My fears had no other source. For notwithstanding the opinion of government that the determined foe whom I was about to irritate, might employ his forces to interrupt the agriculture and commerce of the British Empire in India, I am certain that the entire army of Bhurtpore united would not venture beyond its walls to attack



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General in Council for a moment imagine that during his unpromising contest with the Burmese, greater risk would be incurred by encountering this hostility in the germ, than by waiting many months for a period of leisure to make the attack when disaffection, extending its ramifications through a favouring soil, must have risen to the maturity of its strength? Had my supineness permitted such a crisis to arrive, on whose head would his Lordship have charged the eventual loss of the country he governs? At the distance of nearly a thousand miles from the seat of government, my responsibility was appalling. But I conceived that wise policy required the movement of an immense population to be prevented, without trusting to the future possibility of arresting its progress, after the impulse had augmented its original power a hundredfold. I decided, accordingly, on immediate interference. A proclamation was issued, denouncing Doorjun Sal as a usurper, and calling on the people of Bhurtpore to continue in their allegiance. At the same time, I put in motion the disposable force of my own division of the army: obtaining the cordial assistance of Major-Generals Reynell and Sir Gabriel Martindell, I was enabled in the course of three weeks to assemble eight thousand men, including three European regiments, with one hundred pieces of artillery. To the most sanguine of our enemies these appeared

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veyed not merely an absolute prohibition to advance, but a positive order to retreat, although it were in the face of the enemy. It directed me to disband the troops immediately, who were to return to respective stations. I was further commanded to make a full recantation of error, by recalling the proclamations which Doorjun Sal, a usurper, had invited the people of Bhurtpore to uphold their hereditary Prince. I ventured to delay ten days, with the view of possibly averting some of the degradation that must follow obedience to such orders. But the altered tone which I had to use, and most likely the intelligence of the reproof which I received, frustrated every effort to obtain the concessions that Doorjun Sal at one time offered voluntarily. The troops were accordingly disbanded and dispersed. The usurper was by these measures left in peaceable possession of the power which he had seized by criminal and insulting violence, at liberty to resume the title, and to dispose of the young Rajah as he saw fit. I was entirely divested of authority to interfere.

As government must have been guided by information of which I know not the source, it were vain to conjecture the cause of the vacillation and infirmity of purpose that it has manifested throughout this transaction. After the business was over and finished, as I have just related, a novel view of the subject seemed to open to the Governor-General. The next

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1st of October, 1824, with the sentiments professed on the 2nd of April, 1825, it must implicate the authors still more deeply. Did the Governor-General command or expect his representative to use the gentle language of admonition to a rebellious marauder, yet holding the reeking weapon in his hand, and to ask friendly explanation of the same criminal when he had openly usurped the throne of a sovereign under British protection? If it was meant that I should address him in the authoritative language becoming our station and his acts, in order to produce intimidation without employing force, the result would have been equally discreditable. Doorjun Sal, and too many of his countrymen, believed us no longer capable of exercising the paramount power. Was I directed to subvert his belief of the imbecility of government by threatening punishment for his past offences, and yet forbearing to inflict it if he persisted in crime? A greater miscalculation is hardly conceivable of the springs of action among a people who are prone, under any circumstances, to suspect forbearance originating in weakness. The affectation of forgiving virtue, while murder and usurpation cry for vengeance, has nothing to expect but derision from the natives of India. But my part in the drama was now at an end. The virtual disavowal of all which I had done, and not less the opposite line of conduct that I was compelled to adopt by government, rendered the humiliation of my public

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applause was now visit
oblivion once more of
mortifying opposition t
before him, the Governc
to fulminate censure o
receipt of my resignation
promoters have appare
deplore. I believe the
ciently disclosed, without

larity to an agency seldom avowed, and of whose very existence direct proof is scarcely adducible. But from the open organization of the system lately in one department of the administration, it is reasonable to suppose that it may pervade the next in a less tangible and more revolting form. I should be forward to invite the scrutiny of honourable men into every act of my public life, but I deprecate whilst I despise, the whispered testimony of concealed witnesses, who, whatever their station, are to be classed by universal consent with the most infamous of mankind.

The Governor-General himself being still a stranger to India, and the management of an empire, the other members of government have their full share of responsibility. The absence of Mr. Adam, and the sentiments expressed by Sir Edward Paget, exempt them from any participation in these proceedings. Without the least inclination to deny the worth and general talents of his Lordship's remaining advisers, councillors or secretaries, I understand that their past services have precluded most of them from acquiring much personal knowledge of India, beyond the boundaries of our ancient factories. Are such functionaries, destitute of the pre-requisite experience, capable of forming expanded ideas of our foreign relations, or of directing the conduct of affairs when emergencies threaten the distant provinces?

Yet his Lordship was not inevitably subjected to the

own jurisdictions.]
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those who have judg
of Upper India inclu
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risen to supremacy.
human sympathy, the

must be interwoven, with its well being. To what, then, has the official character of a veteran servant been sacrificed with contumely? Consciousness of rectitude, in judgment and principle, impels me to ascribe the act to malice, mistaken and unworthy expediency, or to evidence that shuns the light. Whichever of these influenced its counsels, the government stands convicted of injustice. In concluding, I once more intreat your Honourable Court not to suppose that release from public duty would have been felt by me as a privation. I had, indeed, solicited permission to retire more than twelve months before the occurrence of these events, when I might have left the scenes of active life unattended by reproach, which from so high a quarter must tend, while unexplained, to degrade any individual in the estimation of my countrymen, and I may add of the humble millions who were wont to regard me with respect. This boon has been withheld for unavowed reasons, until its concession is calculated to deepen the obloquy, which a great government always expects to follow its disapprobation. Censured and abandoned in the path of just policy, my retirement is further embittered by the reflection that the last compulsory act of my long career, for a season, lowered the station and name of my country in the eyes of those princes, and people among whom I had for so many years striven to extend her glory and consolidate her power.

(Signed) D. Ochterlony.

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statements are correc

In accordance with
to collect from variou
mate the strength of th
25,000 or 26,000 mer
attached to the regula
composed of local or ir
difficult to ascertain wi
exact number of regimer
the armies of European
but are designated either
nities, or according to so
the soldiers of any parti
tation of being endowed;
is the cases with several
army, after some distingu
may have been either ra
following is a list of those
I have become acquainted e

Rifle Regiment	Infantry.
Latter,	,,
Sri Nath	,,
Raj Dul,	,,
Mor Indra Dul,	,,
Sher Dul,	,,
Kali Prasad (formerly Hanuman) Dul,	,,
Ram Prithi Dul,	,,
Debi Dul,	,,
Jagat Dul,	,,
Gorakh Nath,	,,
Kali Baksh,	,,
Sir bá doz,	,,
Ba'zabani,	,,
Ram Prya Dul,	,,
Singhi Nath,	,,
Naya Gorakh Nath,	,,
Subz Dul,	,,
Bhairav Nath,	,,
Shumsher Dul,	,,
Sri Mer,	,,
Ran Sen,	,,
Shah Baz,	,,
Ballam Jung,	,,
Suldar Jung,	,,
Tarah Nath,	,,

Channund Na
Sri Daman,
Samna Jung,

A large force, cons
irregular regiment, is
mandoo, and in its in
can judge, the remain
the different posts an
Thibet frontiers, as det

Palpa .
Peutana .
Saliana .
Sil Gurhee .
Jamba (Thibet) .
Opudheea Gurhee
Seesa Gurhee .
Muckwanpore .
Hurreehurpoo .
Sinda Gurhee .

The strength of regiments, more especially of those employed on police duties which are, in some instances, 1000 strong, varies; but the average of that corps of the line may be fairly calculated at six hundred Sepoys. With the exception of one or two regiments, the complement of commissioned and non-commissioned officers is on an extremely limited scale, not consisting of more than one captain, one lieutenant, one subahdar, six jumadars, six havildars and six naiks to a battalion of six companies.

The Commander-in-chief is assisted by a staff of nine or ten general officers and colonels, each of whom commands two or three regiments, a major (styled burra captain) and a burra-adjutant or adjutant-general, whose duties appear in a great measure confined to the issue in a loud tone of the words of command on the occasion of a grand review. The emoluments appertaining to the command of the army, derived principally from the annual gifts presented by the sirdars and soldiery, amount to about a lac of rupees per annum; the pay of officers of the higher ranks is not apparently regulated by any fixed standard, but depends entirely on the favor or caprice of the prime minister, the rates of that granted to those of the lower grades, to non-commissioned officers and soldiers, are according to the following scale:—

Subahdars .
Jumadars .
Havildars and
Sepoys .

In addition to wh
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feelings of the sirdars,

Rajah, and are thereby empowered to administer justice and award fines, not to exceed one hundred rupees, amongst the peasantry residing on the jagirs assigned for their support; as the fines thus levied are a perquisite of office, this privilege is doubtless occasionally abused.

Every male throughout the territory of Nepaul is liable to be called upon to serve as a soldier for one year, at the expiration of which period he is entitled to claim his discharge, but the power thus possessed by the government of summoning recruits to its standards is, I should imagine, hardly ever exercised, for by all accounts there is no want of candidates for military service; on the contrary there are numerous applicants for employment, and at the general re-enrolment styled Punjunnie, which takes place annually during the Dusserah, when the ranks are not only weeded of weakly and inefficient officers and men, but the opportunity also taken of removing those to whom the minister in power may prove unfavourable, the greatest interest is generally made by persons of all grades to prevent being remanded to their homes; corps on out-post duty, which owing to their distance from the capital may not be subject to inspection at the Punjunnie, are usually disbanded on their return from command, new regiments being raised in their stead, and the officers and soldiers composing them proceeding to their native

tainous country situated to the eastward of the Mechee River, and to the westward of the Teesta River, formerly possessed and occupied by the Rajah of Nepaul, ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

ARTICLE II.

The Sikhimputee Rajah engages, for himself and successors, to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas, or any other state.

ARTICLE III.

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British government any disputes or questions that may arise between his subjects, and those of Nepaul, or any other neighbouring state, and abide by the decision of the British government.

ARTICLE IV.

He engages for himself and successors to join the British troops with the whole of his military force, when employed within the hills, and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in his power.

ARTICLE V.

That he will not permit any British subjects nor the subject of any European or American state, to reside within his dominions without the permission of the English government.

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That he will not al
of revenue, or other
the British government

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traders from the Compa
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ARTI

The Honourable East I
the Sikhimputee Rajah an
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The Nahoor, wild sheep. *Ovis Nahoor*, mihi. Habitat, Kachar.

The Thar antelope. *Antelope Thar*, mihi mature male. *A. Ghoral*, Hardwicke. Mature male. Inhabit central and northern divisions of Nepaul respectively.

The Changra or shawl goat of the Himalaya towards Nepaul. Inhabits the Kachar.

The Chiru antelope. *Antelope Hodgesonii*, C. Abel. Mature male. *A. Gazella* of H. Smith's sub-genius. Habitat, the open plains of N. E. Thibet.

The Ratwa Mantjac. Inhabits the central region of Nepaul.

The Nepaulese Paradoxurus. *P. Nipalesis*, mihi. Inhabits the central and northern regions of Nepaul.

The Wah. *Ailurus Fulgens*. Kachar only.

The Kathiah Nyool of Nepaul. *Martes Kathiah*, mihi. Central and northern regions.

The Bharsiah of the Nepaulese. *Ursitaxus Inauritus*, mihi. Pennant's Indian badger?

The Korïal of the Nepaulese. *Sciuropterus magnificus*. Central and lower regions of Nepaul.

The Machabba, or Malva of the Taraï. *Paradoxurus Bondar*. Inhabits the open tracts of the lower region of Nepaul.

Thulo Chuah of the Nepaulese. Norway, Rat? All parts of Nepaul.

The Nyool of the Taraï. *Mangastra Cafra?* 2, the Nyool of the hills. *M. Javanica?* (since ascertained

..., also called Sayer

tion of the lower region

The Chittra Bilow

varietas. *Felis Viverrin*

of lower region of Nepau

The Biraloo of the N

throtus. Central region

F. Murmensis. Central r

The Arna, *Bos Arna*, m

Gulo Orientalis. Lowe

The Phusro Jaraï of the

of Smith.

The Lokriah Squirrel, *S*

The common Musk Shre

2, common Field-mouse of

lesser common rat of Nepa

The Nepaulese Cat. *Fel*

Black and white Flying S

niger, mihi. Central and no

Ghoral Antelope.

The Buansu, or wild dog

Smith. *Hipehaphus* of Du Vaucel. The Bahraiya, *Cervus Bahraiya*. (The Maha of the western portion of these hills). The animals inhabit the saul forest and Bhaver of Nepaul.

The Machabba, or Malva of the Taraï. *Paradoxurus Bondar ?*

Pteropus of central region. *Pt. Leucocephalus.*

The Langoor Monkey. Inhabits the central region.

The Chikara or Chouka. *A. Tetracornis.* Habitat. Taraï.

The Snakes of central region. All of them are innocuous.

Young Porcupine.

Tibetan Mastiff.

Common Hare of central region. Locusts, same region.

Common Otter of Taraï.

Common Toad, common Frog. Central region.

Panther, Leopard, and Bear.

Cabool Greyhound.

Rhinoceros unicornis of the Taraï.

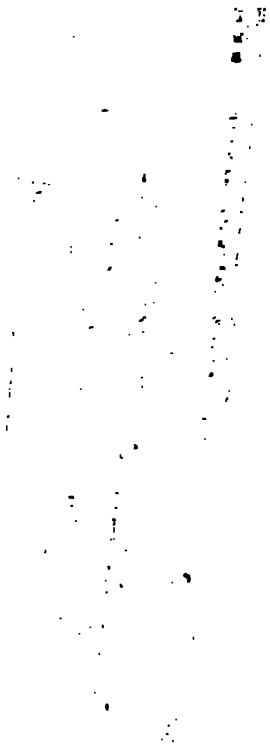
The Khar Laghuna, or brown Porcine Axis.

The Yak of Thibet.

Zibet of central region of Nepaul.

Indian Dûmba Sheep.

The Barwal or domestic sheep of the Kachar of Nepaul. The Hoaniah or domestic sheep of Thibet and of the Himalaya.



Nepaul.

Chittra or Axis.

Axis. The Tarai

Ovis Nahoor.

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